šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

The **Doubt-removing** book of Mardānfarrox

Introduced, translated, and edited by

Raham Asha

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The ŠGV is a treatise in which the author intends to present the arguments to refute in detail the alien schools and sects, establish the teaching of the two principles, and lead us to believe the veracity of the Religion, Daēnā Māzdayasni, and that of the teachings of the old Aryan guides, the Paoiryō.t̰kaēša. The complete original Pārsīg text is irretrievably lost, and we only possess its transcription into Pāzand (the vernacular Pārsī language written in Dēn-dibīrīh) and its translation into Sanskrit, made by the Pārsī high-priest Neryōsang Dhaval.[1]

The name of the author of the treatise is Mardānfarrox son of Ohrmazddād. He makes him known as a suitor and researcher of truth who does not like to follow a religion by inheritance, but he seeks that which is more reliable and acceptable before the philosophy and logic. Although he crosses many lands and seas, he only mentions the name of India (*hindūgān būm*). In his quest, he meets many different sects, examines other doctrines, and reads other scriptures. But in this period of self-doubt, he falls into the depths of the gloom and ill-solvable doubtfulness, and it seems that the doctrine of Mani seduces him more, until a time when, owing to the books and memoranda of the wise Magi, he escapes from much doubtfulness, error and deceit of doctrines. In Spāhān, he meets a certain Mihrayyār who asks him a few questions about the two independent coeternal principles, the assault of evil, the cosmic battle between the

[1] . There is a Pārsīg version of the earlier part of the treatise (the fragments 1-5), but it is based on the Pāzand version. There are a few copies of two Gujarati versions of the fragments 1-11. There is also a Persian paraphrase of the Prelude (1.1-31).

forces of good and evil, and the finite and infinite times. He first writes a small pamphlet (fragments 2-4) which consists of answers to questions posed, in a friendly manner, by Mihrayyār who was skeptical, but when he saw the answer, was apparently convinced. Then Mardānfarrox decides to insert it into a larger treatise the aim of which is to answer the doubts and queries of the Mazdayasnian neophytes concerning the cosmic dualism, in contrast with its opponents.

The title of this treatise is: *šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār* 'doubt-removing'. Notice that Neryōsang has erroneously transliterated this name into Pāzand and Sanskrit[2], and now the treatise is known among the "scholars" by its mis-spelt title.[3] The words *šak* and *gumān*(*īh*) are synonymous meaning 'doubt'. The word *šak* comes from Arabic شکّ /*šakk*/ 'doubt; mistrust; suspicion', although its root is not certain.[4] And the word *gumān* comes from the old Perso-Aryan * *u̯i-man*-(*ah*-)[5]. In Persian literature *šak* and *gumān*(*īh*) occur frequently together. For example, in the manuscript MU 29, 83 we read thus: [illegible] /*šak ud gumān*/. In the Pārsī manuscripts it is not unusual to see شک و

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[2] . [illegible] . [illegible]: स्कंदगुमानीगुजार.

[3] . For example, Menasce calls it Škand-Gumānīk Vicār (Škand-Gumānīg Vizār) which is non-sense. The proposition of Sheriarji D. Bharucha is interesting : « The meaning of the original Pahlavi name, if we decipher it Shak-i-Gûmânîk-vijâr, would be "convincer of the sceptic's doubts (regarding the truthfulness of Zoroastrian religion)". » *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, Part IV, Bombay, 1913, Preface, i.

[4] . It is possibly cognate with Skt. *śaṅka*- m. 'doubt; fear; distrust' (*śáṅk* 'to doubt, fear, distrust').

[5] . Cf. Av. *aγəm uparōvīmanōhīm* (Vd 1.15), Skt. *vi-manas*(-*ka*-) 'perplexed in mind', *vi-mati*- m. 'difference of opinion', adj. 'of different opinion', cf. Śikṣāsamuccaya (Kārikā 16), *bodhisatvaḥ prasannaḥ syāddharme vimatim utsṛjet*.

گمان /*šak u gumān*/.[6] In Persian, the use of شک و گمانی /*šak ud gumānī*/ is also common.[7] The last word of the title, °*vizār*, is used in a number of the compounds.[8] The idea of removing doubts is a familiar one in the teaching of the Magi, and the Pārsīg expression for "removing-doubt" is used without the loan-word *šak*: *gumān-vizār*.[9] This reminds us the epithet of the Jina ('victor', a designation for a Buddha) in the Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā: *vimati-cchedaka* 'doubt-dispelling, removing perplexity' (Skt. *vimati* is cognate with Pers. *gumān*).[10] In the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra, 69, the mantra of all buddhas (or, bodhisattvas) is thus: *Namaḥ samantabuddhānāṃ, sarvathā vimativikiraṇa dharmadhātunirjāta saṃ saṃ ha svāhā* 'Homage to all Buddhas! O you who dispel doubt in every way! you who are born of the Dharma realm! saṃ saṃ ha! svāhā!'[11] As for Mardānfarrox, his text incarnates the *gumānvizār* who dispels the doubts of the Mazdayasnian neophytes to show the path of truth and measure (Av. *aṣa*). The path of *Aṣa* is only one, while the non-path of *druj* is multiple; it takes many forms and

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6 . For example, see the Persian manuscript of AVN (Ms Khudabakhsh L. n° 3771, fol. 59a) شک و گمان, or that of the Persian Rivāyāt (Ms Khudabakhsh L. n°3771, fol. 12a) شک و گمان.

7 . Cf., for example,
شک و گمانی: الریب (علی بن محمد بن طاهر الکرمینی، مفتاح الإشراف لتکملة الأصناف، محمد حسین تسبیحی، اسلام آباد، ۱۳۷۲، ۵۰۹)

8 . For example, *frašn-vizār* 'problem-solving', *x*^{v}*amn-vizār* 'interpreter of dreams, oneirocritic'. Cf. also *kām*(*ag*)-*vizār*, *varan-vizār*, *vināh-vizār*.

9 . Cf. Dk iv, M 429 *harvispāgāh ī gumānvizār*, DD 38.15 *x*^{v}*arrah ī gumānvizār ī abēzag dēn*.

10 . *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā, sūtra du Mahāyāna*, ed. L. Finot, St. Pétersbourg, 1901, 5.

11 . *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sutra*, translated from the Chinese (Taishō Volume 18, Number 848) by Rolf W. Giebel, 2005, 64.

engenders different sects and schisms. He deals with two types of opponents: One, gnostic dualism, viz. Manichaeism and Neoplatonism – unfortunately the book breaks off abruptly at 16.111 before the critical portion of his discussion of the tenets of the Manichaeans is completed. Two, Monism, either atheistic, i. e., the schools of the Dahrī, the sophists and the atheists, and theistic, i. e., the monotheistic orthodoxies of Christianity, rabbinic Judaism and Islam. Notice that the Magi consider Christianity as "second Judaism" (*didīgar jehūdīh*) and Islam as "third Judaism" (*sidīgar jehūdīh*).[12]

Mardānfarrox gives himself as a man in search of the knowledge of the truth, a student of the wise Magi, and his book effectively popularizes the teaching of his masters, especially a certain Ādarpādyāvandān[13], whose name is not mentioned in any existing Pārsīg literature. He acknowledges to have derived his knowledge from the *Dēnkird* of Ādarfarrōbay son of Farroxzād and the *Rōšn-nibēg* of Rōšn. The *Dēnkird* which is in our hands today is its final compilation, by Ādarbād son of Emēd, after the calamity that befell Zardušt son of Ādarfarrōbay. Mardānfarrox refers to the *Dēnkird* of a thousand chapters prepared by Ādarfarrōbay, and moreover he inserts two chapters of that book which are not found in the portion of the *Dēnkird* known to be extant: one, probably from the first two books (12); and the other, from the third book (9). Mardānfarrox quotes some sayings from the book of Rōšn, the elder son of Ādarfarrōbay, the *Rōšn-nibēg* 'the book of *Rōšn*' (a word play on *rōšn*: 'light' and Rōšn). The title of this book occurs in the

[12] . Cf. Dk iii, M 257.
[13] . Ādar son of Pādyāvand ? Or, Ādarbād son of …?

Fihrist[14], and it seems that Rayḥānī had rendered the book of Rōšn in Arabic.[15]

Mardānfarrox writes his treatise in a tumultuous period, in the middle of the 9th century A. D., that is some time after the calamity (ألم ‘pain, suffering’, i.e., murder) which befell Zardušt who had succeeded his father Ādarfarrōbay as *hudēnān pēšobāy* ‘the leader of those of the good religion’, and the library of the Magi was destroyed in Baγdād and the pages of the Dēnkird were scattered or simply disappeared. When, in the 10th century, Ādarbād ī Emēdān tried to bring together the scattered fragments of the copy of the Dēnkird, he no longer had access to the two chapters quoted by Mardānfarrox –only the title of one chapter (9) is found in the extant Dēnkird.[16]

The extant treatise consists of some words introducing the subject and the author and thirteen chapters.

Prelude (1)

Mardānfarrox gives a résumé of the religion: the world of thought (*mēnōg*) and the world of life (*gētīg*); the five-part pattern of the religion (*dēn*) and the five-part structure of the

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١٤. اخبار علی بن عبيدة الريحاني ... وله من الكتب ... كتاب ×مهراذرجشنس كتاب كيلهراسف الملک ... كتاب ×روشن نبیک ... (کتاب الفهرست، گ. فلوگل، ۱۸۷۱، ۱۱۹).

15 . See M. Inostranzev, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*, transl. From Russian by G. K. Nariman, Bombay, 1918, ch. vii, 89-91. See also م. محمدی ملایری، تاریخ و فرهنگ ایران در دوران انتقال از عصر ساسانی به عصر اسلامی، چهار، تهران، ۱۳۸۰، ۳۱۹-۳۲۰.

16 . See Dk iii, M 262:
/abar astīh ī dām hamēstār ud pēšīh ī hamēstār az dām/

Aryan society and the five-part pattern of the microcosm (*gēhān ī kōdak, mardōm*).

Response to some questions: First chapter (2-4)

The first chapter is in the form of replies to some questions that had been put to Mardānfarrox by a certain Mihrayyār of Spāhān. It is divided in three segments:

One (2). Mardānfarrox first responds to this question: As Aṇgra Mainyu who is not of the same substance as the world of light how could he attack and harm the Light? This segment resembles the second chapter of the Jāmāspīg.

Two (3). The question to which this segment answers is as follows: Why did Ahura Mazdā not prevent Aṇgra Mainyu from doing and wanting evil, when He is able to do so? Mardānfarrox explains that the omnipotence of Ahura Mazdā is limited to all that which is possible.

Three (4).[17] Mihrayyār puts forward this question: How is it possible to reconcile the astrological doctrine of the determination of earthly events by the celestial sphere, stars and planets, and the religious cosmogony based on dualism? Who created the celestial sphere, Aŋra Mainyu, or Ahura Mazdā, or both? Mardān farrox gives the five-part pattern of the lords of the fixed stars and their opponents thus:

Peg-on-High	Saturn
Haftōring	Jupiter

[17] . See Degener, A., "Neryosanghs Sanskrit-Übersetzung von Škand gumānīk Wicār", *Corolla Iranica. Papers in honour of D. N. MacKenzie*, Peter Lang, 1991, 49-58.

Vanand	Mars
Sadvēs	Venus
Tištar	Mercury

Mihrayyār puts another question as regards the unlimitedness and limitedness (of time and place). Mardānfarrox leaves the answer to this question for another chapter.

Atheism: Second chapter (5-6)

The second chapter begins with some definitional ground to expose the existence of the Holy Spirit and His adversary. Then he refutes the arguments of the "alien" atheists, those who are called σοφιστής 'sophist' and also *dahrī*. This chapter is contained in the fifth and sixth fragments of the book. R. P. Karkaria resumes the first fragment (5) thus:

Mardānfarrox points out (5.1-9) the necessity of understanding the nature of the sacred being as well as of admitting his existence. He then details (5.10-45) in a general manner the various modes of acquiring such knowledge, and these modes are (5.46-91) applied to prove the existence of a wise and benevolent Creator, from the evident existence of design in creatures, and their various organs and appliances. In the sixth fragment, the argument from design is continued with a special rebuke at its close to the Sophists who argue that there can be no certainty about spiritual matters because our knowledge of them is merely subjective illusion.

Then Karakaria points out that this chapter presents a very close resemblance to the argument of M. Lucillius Balbus, the spokesman of the Stoics in the famous dialogue of Cicero, called the *De Natura Deorum*:

In the first book the representative of the Epicureans, C. Velleius, gives their views; he believes in the existence of the gods, but denies the government of the world by them. C. Aurelius Cotta, on behalf of the Academics, says, that it is impossible to arrive at any certainty with regards to the divine natures. The second book is entirely taken up with the Stoic argument of Balbus. He gives, (1) proof of the divine existence, (2) of the divine nature, (3) of the providential government of the universe, and (4) of the providential care for man. Providential government is inferred from the consideration of the Universe itself, as embodying an intelligent principle first imported into it by a creative energy. A detailed review is given of the wonders of Nature, viz., the earth, the sun, moon, stars and planets; also wonders of vegetable and animal life. Then the hand of Providence is shown to be most plainly visible in man, in the provision made for supporting his life by food and air; in the fragment of his body and his erect position; in the organs of sense; in the gift of reason; in the gift of speech through the wondrous mechanism of the vocal organs; in the capacity for action through the mechanism of the hand; and finally in the capacity for the meditation and worship. This entire section of Cicero presents a resemblance to the two fragments of the second chapter; and this can be clearly seen by reading the two side by side. Karakaria gives one instance: Both Cicero and Mardānfarrox take the instance of the human eye to show the adaptation of means to ends in the human body as well as the Universe.[18]

[18] . R. P. Karkaria, « The Teleology of the Pahlavi Shikand Gumanik Vijar and Cicero's De Natura Deorum », *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIX, 1895-1897, 215-23. See also Filippone, E., *The "pupil of the eye" in the Iranian languages*, Napoli, 1995.

Then he succinctly reviews (6.5-34) the doctrine of the Dahrī, that is, the principle of infinite time, the denial of heaven and hell, and materialism, and he ends (6.35-45) by saying a few words about sophists.

Adversary: Third chapter (7-8)

There exists, in the world of thought as well as in the world of life, an adversary (Av. *paityāra*), the evil spirit, as a different principle and essence, competing with the Holy Spirit. Mardānfarrox divides this chapter into two fragments:

One (7). About the existence of the contrary of different substance.

Two (8). About the existence of the contrary of different principle. “God is good: that is the first Zoroastrian dogma, and to this Mardānfarrokh returns again and again. In the chapter (8) …, he develops three main lines of thought. First the existence of good and evil is empirically verifiable and this dichotomy is traceable to first causes. Secondly since God is by definition a rational (and omniscient) being his creation must have a rational motive. Thirdly, if it is admitted that God is good, then it necessarily follows that evil cannot proceed from Him, however indirectly. … Mardānfarrokh then goes on to argue that since good and evil are demonstrable facts in the material world and since the latter derives from a spiritual or unseen prototype, it follows that there is a dichotomy in that world too, -a dichotomy that leads inevitably to two first causes which are mutually antagonistic and irreconcileable.”[19] « La position mazdéenne

[19] . R. C. Zaehner, *The Teachings of the Magi. A Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs*, London, 1956, 567.

telle qu'elle s'exprime dans les chapitres qui suivent a ceci d'original qu'elle s'efforce d'intégrer le mal, conçu comme de l'être dans une métaphysique qui entend respecter à la fois le principe de contradiction et le principe de la finalité. »[20]

Proof of the existence of the adversary of the creatures, and the precedence of the adversary in comparison with the creatures: Fourth chapter (9)

The whole chapter 5 (fragment 9) is a quotation from the third book of the Dēnkird, only the title of which is found in the extant Dēnkird (iii, M 262). It is about the existence of the contrary of the creatures, and the precedence of the contrary in comparison with the creatures.

Monism versus dualism: Fifth chapter (10)

This chapter is about the theoretic system of the monists (monotheists) in which Mardānfarrox presents a new proof of dualism. The opportunity is taken to speak of his personal quest, his travels, how he escaped from doubtfulness especially from Manichaeism, and those who inspired him, viz. Ādarpādyāvandān, Ādarfarrōbay and Rōšn. He also gives a brief summary of the history of the Religion, *daēnā māzdayasni*, viz. the coming of the religion, the conversion of Vīštāspa and the wise of his court, the conversion of Spəṇtōδāta and Zairi.vari and other governors, the ordeal of Ādarbād and the defeat of his hypocrite adversaries, colloquies with the "Roman" Atheists and the prevalence of the wise of Ērānšahr (Persia). It ends with a prelude to next chapter on Islam (10.78-80)

Islam: Sixth and seventh chapters (11-12)

[20] . Menasce, 84.

The sixth and seventh chapters are devoted to Islam. Neither the name of Muḥammad is mentioned nor the name of his sect, Islam. Mardānfarrox gives numerous texts from the Qurʾān, called *Nibēg*. He only mentions one of the numerous sects of Islam, the Muʿtazilites.

I. N° 11 (sixth chapter)[21]

About the inconsistency of the discourses of the monotheists: Four virtues are requisite for godhead, viz., omniscience, omnipotence, goodness, and mercifulness. Monotheism, and especially Islam, traces both good and evil to a divinity whose attributes are incompatible with the latter. Allah fails to be a divinity worthy of worship.

II. N° 12 (seventh chapter)

From the Dēnkird
This is the only chapter of the first two books of the Dēnkird that has been preserved. Mardānfarrox has cited it by way of authority after the chapter on Islam. It is about the inconsistent discourses of the Muslim doctrines as regards God, and concludes that Islam is incompatible with a measured religion. It then

[21] . « Ce chapitre, le plus long et le plus mal composé de tout l'ouvrage, est, à certains égards, le plus intéressant. La théologie musulmane y est prise à partie, l'auteur renvoyant dos à dos motazélites et ašarites, invoquant, contre les premiers, les textes qoraniques qui affirment l'action de Dieu sur tout ce qui est, contre les seconds, les arguments des motazélites (et des sceptiques) en quête d'explication du mystère du mal. Le commentaire permettra de juger de la fidélité de ce texte comme témoignage de l'extérieur sur le grand débat de la théologie musulmane. » Menasce, 125.

compares the god of the (Muslim) monotheists with the god of the (Mazdayasnian) dualists.

Zoroastrian dualism "absolves God from any breath of evil and explains how it could be that creation was actually necessary. It stands wholly opposed to Islam which was to supersede it and there could not really be any *modus vivendi* between the two, since Zoroastrianism stands squarely on the goodness of God and cares not at all for his unity whereas Islam asserts above all things the absolute unity and the unicity of God, his absolute transcendence and total incomprehensibility; and since the Moslem god is as capable of leading astray as he is of guidance, it is no accident that among his ninety-nine names that of 'good' is absent. The Zoroastrian God is reasonable as well as good; there is nothing 'numinous' about him. Ohrmazd (Ahura Mazdā) and Allāh are not compatible, and inevitably the good God of reason was forcibly ejected by the *mysterium tremendum* imported by the Semites."[22]

Judaism: Eighth and ninth chapters (13-14)

Mardānfarrox proceeds to a polemical critique of Judaism in two chapters. After the edition of the text by Jamasp-Asana and its translation by E. West the critique of Judaism aroused the curiosity of some scholars of the Semitic world. James Darmesteter first wrote about it (with a French translation of the text).[23] According to him, this critique is much older than any old Christian refutation of the middle Ages. At the same time, it

[22] . Zaehner, op. cit., 58-9.

[23] . J. Darmesteter, « Textes relatifs au judaïsme », *Revue des études juives*, I, 1889, 1-15.

is different in spirit and in character. The Christians in their polemic against Judaism are on the defensive, because they admit that which is admitted by the Jew; they only admit more, and this is their sole raison d'être. A Christian polemicist, when he attacks, he indeed defends his belief and tries to justify it. The position of a Pārsī is quite different. He has nothing in common with the Jew and he judges his belief according to his own knowledge and principles.[24] Then Darmesteter puts this question that transcends the problem of the use of Hebrew Scriptures by Mardānfarrox. Louis Gray[25], Jean de Menasce (in

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[24] . « Cette réfutation est plus ancienne qu'aucune des réfutations chrétiennes du moyen âge. Elle en diffère absolument, comme on pouvait s'y attendre, d'esprit et de caractère. Le Chrétien en polémique contre le juif est en réalité sur la défensive, car il admet tout ce qu'admet le Juif ; sa croyance n'existe que par celle du Juif ; seulement, il admet en plus, et c'est là sa seule raison d'être, des choses que le Juif repousse, parce qu'il ne les trouve pas dans le texte commun, de sorte qu'en réalité le polémiste chrétien, en ayant l'air d'attaquer, ne fait que se défendre et se justifier. La position du Parsi est tout autre. Il n'a rien de commun avec le Juif et juge sa croyance avec ses propres lumières et ses propres principes. Sa position est celle du libre penseur, toutes les fois qu'il ne fait pas intervenir –fort imprudemment sans doute, s'il a trouvé qui riposte – ses propres principes métaphysiques et autres. Aussi, bien des passages des pages suivantes auraient pu être écrites par Celse et les auteurs des contre-évangiles et semblent des fragments de la Bible enfin expliquée, remanié à l'orientale. L'auteur déploie d'ailleurs une réelle force de logique et de dialectique, qualité ordinaire chez les théologiens de toute religion quand ils ont l'offensive. L'intérêt de curiosité n'est pas le seul qu'offrent ces textes. Ils en offrent un autre plus sérieux : c'est un élément nouveau dans l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique en Orient. D'où sont prises les nombreuses citations de la Bible que contient la réfutation du docteur Parsi ? Il est peu vraisemblable qu'il les ait tiré directement du texte hébreu : il avait donc sous les yeux une traduction au moins partielle de la Bible ? Quelle est cette traduction ? Y avait-il une traduction pehlvi de la Bible ? A quelle école d'exégèse se rattachait-elle et se ramène-elle à une branche connue ? D'où a-t-il pris les midrashim étranges du second chapitre ? » (4-5)

[25] . L.H. Gray, "The Jews in Pahlavi Literature", *Actes du XIV^{e} Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1906, I, 177-92.

his Introduction to Chapters thirteen and fourtheen), Jacob Neusner[26], Shaul Shaked[27], etc.[28] have tried to resolve this problem.

I. Introduction 1-4

The first part essentially contains an epitome of stories of creation and the fall of Adam as described in the Genesis. 5-47

Objections 48-149

II. Introduction 1-3

The second part is about the qualities of Adonai as described in a series of Scriptures and Agadot: He is vengeful, raging, heavy-hearted, wrathful, deceitful even of those who serve him best, warlike and cruel, capricious and mean to men; he does not even tolerate the protestation of the angels; he dismisses his own angels to a fiery river in hell; he engages in bloody battles against men; in the end, he comes to regret his creation. 4-86

Christianity: Tenth, eleventh and twelfth chapters (15)

Three chapters of the *Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār* are devoted to the critique of Christianity. Mardānfarrox speaks of three Christian groups, that is, the Nestorians, the Melkites, and the Jacobites; the origin of all three is, according to him, Judaism.

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[26] . J. Neusner, "A Zoroastrian Critique of Judaism", JAOS, 1963, 283-94 ; "Škand miscellanis", JAOS, 1966, 414-16.

[27] . Sh. Shaked, "Zoroastrian Polemics against Jews in the Sasanian and Early Islamic Period", *Irano-Judaica*, II, Jerusalem, 1990, 85-104.

[28] . See for example

حمید حمید، "شکند گمانیک ویچار و نقد کلامی بر یهودیگری" (۲۰۰۴)، ایرانشناسی، دورهء جدید، سال ۱۵، ۷۲۶-۷۳۴.

This corroborates the thesis of the Dēnkird that ranks Christianity as the “second Judaism”.

I. Introduction 1-3

This chapter treats of a set of the dogmas of the Christian church: Incarnation, Trinity, Crucifixion and Redemption.

The homeland of the Christian creed: Jerusalem.

The Immaculate Conception and the Annunciation to a Jewish woman: The announcement by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin woman that she is impregnated by the Pure Wind (Holy Spirit), and she would conceive Messiah. 4-8

About the testimony of the Virgin woman 9-17

About the Pure Wind (Holy Spirit) 18-23

About Messiah as Son of God 25-30

About Messiah as God and his Incarnation 31-39

About the crucifixion of Messiah 40-45

The doctrine of the Trinity: Father and Son and Pure Wind 46-62

Salvation 63-70

II. Introduction 71

This chapter cites a number of sayings from the “Canonical Scriptures” of the Christians. The central concept in this chapter is the Freedom of Will. 72-90

III. Introduction 91-92

This chapter cites a number of sayings from Paul and other authorities. The central point of the critique is the “duality” of the Christian discourses. Mardānfarrox argues that the New Testament really confirms the existence of two Principles, Good and Evil; and he concludes that: Although Jesus claimed that he had not come to abolish the Laws of Moses, his sayings and commands really dissipate these laws. 93-155

Manichaeism: Thirteenth chapter (16)

The final chapter of Mardānfarrox's treatise, is devoted to Manichaeism. Since the *editio princeps* of the Pāzand version and Neryōsag's Sanskrit rendering by JāmāspAsānā and the English translation by West (1885) this chapter has attracted the attention of Western scholars, and they have translated the whole chapter or various passages of it[29], and or discussed some of technical terms in it.[30] J. de Menasce in his revised French edition gives a detailed introduction to this chapter, with giving most of the passages which refer to Mani in Pārsīg literature. However, in spite of revised translations and revisions the technical terms that have been wrongly transcribed in Neryosang's Pāzand version are not yet correctly deciphered.

The head of the chapter 1-3

Expository portion:

- Mani's doctrine of the three times 4-7
    - Initial: The infinity of the principles 4
    - Middle: Mixture 5
        - The world is the corporeal body of Aŋra Mainyu 8-9

[29] . C. Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük Manichaeischen Schriftums im asiatischen Museum*, St.- Pétersburg, 1904, 16-26; W. Jackson, Researches in Manichaeism, New York, 1932; R.C. Zaehner, *Zurvān, A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, 392-96; C.G. Cereti, "Notes on the Škand Gumānīg Wizār", *Languages of Iran: Past and Present*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 1-15.

[30] . W. Sundermann, "Das Manichäerkapitel des Škand gumānīg wizār in der Darstellung und Deutung Jean de Menasce", *Augustine and Manichaeism in the Latin West*, ed. by J. van Oort, O. Wermelinger & G. Wurst, Leiden, 2001, 325-37; D. Taillieu, "Pazand Nišāmī between Light and Darkness", *Iranica Selecta. Studies in honour of W. Skalmowski*, Turnhout, 2003, 239-46.

The production of Macrocosm from the bodies of the flayed giant demons 10-20

Neryōsag read *kunī dǝβ* in Pāzand and *kūnīdeva* in Sanskrit. In the Dēnkird iii M 217 this thesis is attributed to Mani:

fragān [+]*post ī* وااو *druz ī-š bunēštag*.‘The foundation is the skin of the وااو devil which is the principle (of the world).’

For West (244) who translates it ‘the demon Kunī’ “there is little doubt that he is the (Avesta) demon Kuṇda or Kuṇdi.” However there is no parallel between the dismembered demon and the Avesta demon Kuṇda.[31] The construction of the sky and earth as the dismembering of a Giant (or Giants) recalls the story of the flayed Archonts, the sons of Darkness. See for example the account by Theodorus:

“Then the Living Spirit ordered three of his sons that one should kill, and the other flay the Archonts, sons of darkness, and that they deliver them over to the Mother of the Living (Pers. *mādar ī zīndagān*); the Mother of the Living overspread the sky with their skin, and she made eleven (corr. ten) heavens, and they threw their bodies to the earth of darkness. They made eight earths.”[32]

Recall, moreover, the account by Ephraim:

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[31] . I have already discussed about this. See my book on Ādurbād (2003).

[32] . Theodorus bar Kōnai, *Liber Scholiorum*, ed. A. Scher, Paris, 1912, 315:

ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܚܝܐ ܠܬܠܬܐ ܒܢܘܗܝ، ܕܚܕ ܢܩܛܘܠ ܘܚܕ ܢܫܠܘܚ ܠܐܪܟܘܢܛܐ ܒܢܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ
ܘܡܝܬܝܢ ܠܐܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ. ܘܐܡܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܡܬܚܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܡ̈ܫܟܝܗܘܢ. ܘܥܒܕܬ ܚܕ ܥܣܪ (ܐܠܐ)
ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܦܓܪܝܗܘܢ ܪܡܘ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܕܚܫܘܟܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܬܡܢܐ ܐܪ̈ܥܬܐ܀

“[Mani says thus:] When the Primal Man hunted the Sons of Darkness he flayed them, and made this sky from their skins, and out of their excrement he compacted the Earth, and some of their bones, too, he melted, and raised and piled up the mountains.” [33]

“But if, as some of them say, just as a serpent has a Sheath-skin, so out of the Sheath-skins of the Sons of Darkness the sky and the earth and the rest of created things were made…”[34]

The Syriac words ܢܫܠ ‘to flay, skin’ and ܫܠܚ Pa. ‘to strip’ correspond to Pers. *kan-*: *kand*; and the Syriac word for flayed, ܫܠܝܚܐ , to Pers. *kandag* (*pōst ī kandag* ≈ ܫܠܝܚܬܐ) which is written: وارو. This is not the name of a demon, but an adjective for the giant demons (*dēv māzandar*) or devils (*druz*) who are the same as the Archonts (Syr. ܐܪ̈ܟܘܢܛܐ from Gr. ἄρχοντος). Then we should reconstruct Paz. *kunī dēβ* thus: *kandag dēv* ‘flayed demon(s)’.

Sun and moon and the process of purification 21-22
Reaction of Ahrmen: the production of microcosm in the likeness of macrocosm 23-27
Final: Separation 6
Seduction of the Archonts 28-37

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[33] . C.W. Mitchell, S. Ephraim’s prose refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, Oxford, 1912, 11:

ܟܕ ܨܕ: ܐܢܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ. ܢܫܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܗ ܘܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܓܠܕ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܢ ܦܪܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܩܒܥ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܓܪ̈ܡܝܗܘܢ ܠܗ. ܬܘܒ ܢܫܝܢ ܘܐܪܝܡ ܘܥܒܐ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ܀

[34] . Ibid., 13 :

ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ: ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܫܠܝܚܬܐ ܠܚܘܝܐ: ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܚܬܐ ܕܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܫܘܟܐ ܗܘܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪܥܐ ܘܫܪܟܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ܀

It is said that twelve maidens appear before the giant demons so that these demons release the light they contain through their sperm. Neryōsang renders the twelve maidens thus: Paz. *dvāzdahą* x^{v}*arīgą duxtarą i zurvą*: Skt. *dvādaśarāśīḥ duhitaraḥ kālasya* ‘the twelve signs of the zodiac, (i.e.) the daughters of Time’. Pers. *dvāzdahān* means ‘twelve’ and also ‘twelve signs of the Zodiac’. Neryōsang who was not familiar with the technical language of the Manichaean literature chose the second meaning. But Mani’s doctrine associates the zodiacal signs with the dark realm. “They are all enemies and rivals to each other.”[35] The *dvāzdahān duxtarān* are to be associated with the Twelve Divine Virgins in Sogdian fragments[36], and the Twelve Auspicious Hours of the Third Messenger in Uyγur fragments.[37] They match with the “Twelve Virgins” (ܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܒ̈ܬܘܠܬܐ) of the *Liber Scholiorum* which the Third Messenger evoked in his greatness:

“The (Third) Messenger called (= created) the Twelve Virgins with their clothes, crowns and custom(s): The first (virgin) was Kingdom; the second Wisdom; the third Victory; the fourth Persuasion; the fifth Chastity; the sixth Truth; the seventh Faith(fullness); the eighth Patience ; the ninth

35 . *The Kephalaia of the Teacher*, The edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in translation with commentary, I. Gardner, Leiden, 1995, 167.

36 . M 583 I V 10 *δwātas βəγpūrišt*.

37 . Uyγ. *iki yigirmi ädgü öd* ‘Twelve Auspicious Hours’ (^{T}M 140 & 147b); Chin. *shih-erh* (*wei-miao*) *shih* ‘Twelve (Marvellous) Hours’ (Mo Ni Chiao Hsia Pu Tsan).

Uprightness; the tenth Goodness; the eleventh Justice; and the twelfth Light."[38]

As we see these Virgins are to be connected to the Twelve Dominions (of Light), enumerated in the Parthian fragment M 14 (and also in the *Chinese Hymnscroll*):

"Twelve Dominions: Dominion, Wisdom, Salvation, Contentment, Zeal, Truth, Belief, Patience, Righteousness, Goodness, Harmony, and Light."[39]

The series of Light Dominions are paralleled by an inverse series of dark realms:

"The twelve dark dominions are: first evil knowledge, second lust, third vanity, fourth turmoil, fifth anger, sixth defilement, seventh destruction, eighth annihilation, ninth death, tenth deception, eleventh rebellion, and twelfth darkness."[40]

If it is certain that the 'twelve x^{v}*arīgą* Daughters of Time' are personified deities associated with twelve

[38] . Theodorus, *Liber Scholiorum*, 316:
ܘܐܝܟ ܓܕܐ ܒܪܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܒ̈ܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܠܒ̈ܘܫܝܗܝܢ ܘܒܟ̈ܠܝܠܝܗܝܢ ܘܒܨܒ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ. ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܕܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܚܟܡܬܐ. ܘܕܬܠܬ ܙܟܘܬܐ. ܘܕܐܪܒܥ ܦܝܣܐ. ܘܕܚܡܫ ܢܟܦܘܬܐ. ܘܕܫܬ ܫܪܪܐ. ܘܕܫܒܥ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܕܬܡܢܝܐ ܡܓܪܬ ܪܘܚܐ. ܘܕܬܫܥ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ. ܘܕܥܣܪ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ. ܘܕܚܕܥܣܪ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ. ܘܕܬܪ̈ܬܥܣܪܐ ܢܘܗܪܐ.

[39] . ^{T}M 14 V 7-12 (Parthian):

dwāδas šahrδārīft: šahrδārīft, žīrīft, bōxtagīft, hunsandīft, abrang, rāštīft, hamwadendīft, darymanīft, razwarīft, kirbagīft, huabsāgīft, rōšn.

Persian equivalents (^{T}M 798a, ^{T}M 738): 3 *pērōzīh*, 4 *hunsandīh*, 8 *burdīh*, 9 *rāstīh*, 10 *šnōhr*(*ī*), 11 *xūbīh*, 12 *rōšnī.*

[40] . ^{T}M 34 R 6-15 (Parthian)

dwāδes šahrδārīft tārīg: nax^{v}*ēn wadešnāsagīft, bidīg āwaržōg, hridīg gahrādanīft, cuhrum āšōbgarīft, panjum dēbahr, šohum āγustagīft, haftum wigānišn, haštum abnās, nohum marn, dasum wiδeftagīft, ēwandasum wistambagīft, ud dwāδesum tār.*

virtues, the reading *x*^{v}*arīgą* is not certain. West translates it by ‘glorious’, that is it is derived from Pers. *x*^{v}*arrah* ‘glory, fortune’. Jackson and de Menasce follow him. However, *x*^{v}*ar*(*r*)*īg* cannot be the adjectival form of *x*^{v}*arrah* (read *x*^{v}*arəhe* by Neryōsang). Sundermann proposes another derivation: *x*^{v}*arīg* ‘solar; sun-like’ from *x*^{v}*ar* ‘sun’.[41] We do not find this word anywhere else in the Persian or Parthian Manichaean texts. It is possible that in the original ŠGV the word was written thus: اسرو /*nax*^{v}*rēg*/ or /*noxrēg*/ ‘first-born’; and Neryōsang read سرو. The word *nax*^{v}*rēg* is a technical term that is found in Turfan Pārsīg fragments.[42] Then we can translate *dvāzdahān nax*^{v}*rēgān duxtarān ī zurvān* by ‘Twelve First-born Daughters of Zurvān (Time)’.

Soul-Light is bound and imprisoned within the body. 38-39

It ought not to procreate and propagate lineage, nor even to cultivate plants and grain. 40-41

It ought not to kill any creature whatsoever. 42-45

Victory of God and end of the world 46-50

The doctrine of the two primeval principles 51-52

For Mani, there are two principles, both infinite, that coexist along a common border; they are not separate by an intermediary space, read by Neryōsang *nišāmī u vašādaī*: *āsanatvaṁ viśleṣataṁca*.

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[41] . W. Sundermann, op. cit., 327.

[42] . ^{T}M 28 II V, ^{T}M 612 V. See also W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin, 1973, 17 (113).

According to the old (Aryan) teaching (*paoirya ṯkaēša*) between the two principles there was open space (Pers. *višādagīh*) or void (Pers. *tuhīgīh*); its Avesta name was *vayu*. It was the place of mixture, or material creation (Pers. *dahišn*).

The word read by Neryōsang *nišāmīh* seems to be a "ghost" word.[43] Neryōsang himself interpreted it as *nišēmīh* and translated it by *āsanatva*- 'resting-place'. Others have emended it to *nišānīh*, *niyām*, *višāmīh*, etc.[44] However, if we consult the Mazdean and Manichaean texts, the convenient word would be /*vēhmīh*/ 'breadth; expanse, area' (Pers. *vēhm* 'broad' < **u̯ai̯g-ma*-). For example: VZ 2.11 *vēhmīh ī andarvāy* 'the expanse of the atmosphere'; Gōišn abar pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 30): *ka* x^{v}*arxšēd andar ōy vēhmīh ī hāmkišvar ped asmānān bārist* 'When the sun is in that area of the cosmos in the highest of the skies …'. Then we have to read:

u-šān nē būd ēc vēhmīh ud višādagīh meyān 'And between them there was not any breadth (/expanse) and width (/ open space).'

Critical portion:

Mardānfarrox criticizes Mani's conception of the infinite 53-

[43] . We find, however, the Parthian word *nišām*.

[44] . West : *nišānīh* 'demarcation' ; Salemann : *niyām*(*ag*) 'Scheidewand'; de Menasce: *nišāmīh* 'intervalle, transitions, (entre jour et nuit)'; Taillieu: *wišāmīh* 'open space, void'. See also Ch. Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, 97-8.

The most complete Mss. (JJ and JE) break off abruptly at §111, without concluding the chapter.

Neryōsang Dhaval brought with him to India a copy of the Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār.[45] He translated it into Sanskrit, and moreover transcribed it into the Avesta writing (*dēndibīrīh*), for the use of the Pārsī priests of India. It seems that Neryōsang translated it into Sanskrit, not from his own Pāzand version, but from the original pārsīg text.[46]

The first attempts to make known the treatise were sterile[47] until the edition of its Pāzand version (and its "Pahlavi" text)

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[45] . See B. T. Anklesaria, *The Pahlavi Rivāyat of Āturfarnbag and Farnbagsrōš*, II, Bombay, 1969, Introduction, 15.

[46] . Indeed, we can find a number of differences in these two texts as for his deciphering of some Pārsīg words. For example, in the Pāzand text, 8.10, 11.154, he has correctly transcribed [illegible] /*āzādīh*/ (opp. *must*) in [illegible] 'freedom', but in the Sanskrit version we read संपत्तिश्च (*sampatti*- 'prosperity, welfare'), and ऋद्धत्वं (*ṛddhatva*- 'prosperity, abundance') both corresponding to Pers. ābādīh; in 14.4 he has transcribed [illegible] /*tam*/ 'darkness, gloom' in [illegible] '?', but has correctly translated it into Sanskrit: तमसि (*tamas*- 'darkness, gloom').

[47] . For example, see the description of the book by Anquetil du Perron:
« Scheken (ou Schekand) Goumani.
Roulot Pehlvi & Persan, en bon état & bien écrit.
Dans ce Traité, dont le nom signifie 'le doute brisé', le Persan est écrit en caracteres Zend sur le Pehlvi ; mais la plûpart des mots Pehlvis un peu difficiles sont simplement écrits sur le Pehlvi en caracteres Zends sans traduction. Le Scheken Goumani est un Ouvrage Théologique & Moral, dont l'objet principal est d'établir que le mal ne vient pas d'Ormuzd ; que l'impureté d'Ahriman a sa source dans lui-même, ainsi que celle de l'homme dans sa propre volonté. L'Auteur, pour prouver ces deux points, entre dans quelques détails sur l'origine des êtres ; il parle du Ciel, des Astres, de la nature de l'homme, des différens états qui partagent le Genre humain ; il pose pour principe fondamental de la Morale, la pureté de pensée, la pureté de parole, la pureté d'action, & recommande surtout d'honorer Dieu & de pratiquer la Loi de Zoroastre. Cet Ouvrage commence par ces mots : vispann

that was prepared by Hōšang Jāmāspji Jāmāsp-Āsānā in 1860, and arrangements were made for the publication of Pāzand and "Pahlavi" texts, with the Sanskrit version.[48] Šeriārji Dadabhai Bharucha prepared a new edition of the Sanskrit text and subjoined to it two Gujarati versions for the collection of the "Sanskrit writings of the Parsis".[49] An English translation of the book by E. W. West was published in the series of the "Sacred Books of the East".[50] Sadegh Hedayat who studied the text with Behrāmgore Tahmuras Anklesaria published a partial Persian transcription and translation of it.[51] A French translation of the whole book was provided by Pierre Jean de Menasce.[52] In 2004 I presented a new edition of the Pārsīg text with a translation in English. I hope that this new edition will be of interest and importance to those Parsis interested mainly in their own religion.

Ihan minvadan setihan etc. Il finit par ceux-ci, qui sont sur le revers du roulot : avadih o rastih din avardar ena anitounad. » (A. du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome premier, Paris, 1771, xl)

[48] . Hōshang J. Jāmāsp-Āsānā & E. W. West, *Shikand-Gumānīk Vijār. The Pāzand-Sanskrit Text together with a Fragment of the Pahlavi*, Bombay, 1887.

[49] . Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha, Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part IV. *Skanda-Gumānī-Gujāra*, Bombay, 1913.

[50] . E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part III (SBE xxiv), Oxford University Press, 1885.

[۵۱] . صادق هدایت، مردان فرخ: چهار باب از کتاب شکندگمانی ویچار، تهران، ۱۹۴۳.

[52] . P. J. de Menasce, *Une apologétique mazdéenne du IX^e siècle : Škand-gumānīk Vicār. La solution décisive des doutes*, Fribourg, 1945. See also his *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, Paris, 1973. The Persian translation of Parvin Shakiba is based on the work of de Menasce :

پروین شکیبا، گزارش گمان شکن. شرح و ترجمهٔ متن پازند، چمپین، ۲۰۰۱.

Translation

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vizārišn

Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

Doubt-removing

नाम्ना सर्व्वांगशक्त्याच साहाय्येनच स्वामिनो अहुरमज्दस्य महाज्ञानिनः सिद्धिः

शुभा भुयात् प्रवृत्तिः प्रसिद्धिश्च उत्तमदीनेर्माज्दईअस्न्या वपुषिच पाटवं दीर्घं

जीवितंच सर्व्वेषां उत्तमानां उत्तममनसां ॥

इदं स्कंदगुमानीगुजारनाम पुस्तकं मया नयरिओसंघेन धवलसुतेन

पहिलवीभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषायामवतारितं विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्यश्च

अविस्ताक्षरैलिखितं सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाश्रोतृणां सत्यचितसां ॥

प्रनामः उत्तमेभ्यः शुद्धमतेभ्यः स्तयजिव्हेभ्यः सत्यसमाचारेभ्यः ॥ ॥

'In the name and through the omnipotence and by the favour of the Lord Ahura Mazdā, may there be success, prosperity and fame of the Good Mazdayasnian Religion, health and long life of all the good (and) benevolent. This book, called +Šak-ud-Gumānīh-vizār, is translated by me, Nairyōsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanskrit language, and

transcribed from the hard [to decipher] Pārsī writing into the Avesta writing, for the easy understanding of the good hearers of the teaching, the right-minded.

Salutation to the good, the pure-thinking, the true-speaking, the just-acting!'

Prelude

1

§ 1-6. [1]Homage to Ahura Mazdā, the lord, the most great and wise, universal sovereign, omniscient and omnipotent, Who is the <holy> spirit among the spirits.[2] From His selfhood (or, essence) that is One, steadfast in [His] unity[3], He spiritually created. And, through His unrivalled power, He created the six supreme Aməṣa spəṇta (holy Immortals)[4], and all the Yazata of the world of thought and of the world of life, and the seven

[1] . Cf. the beginning of the Nām Stāyišn 1 năm (nam?) yazd spennāg mēnōg. Pers. nam ‘homage (to)’(Av. nəmah). Or: nām ‘(His) name (is)’.

[2] . kē andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg (kə aṇdarica mainyuą mainyō : यः अंतश्च अदृश्येषु अदृश्यतरः lit. ‘who is a spirit among the spirits’). Cf. Vr 2.4 θβąm ratūm āyese yešti yim ahurəm mazdąm mainyaom mainyavanąm dāmanąm mainyaoyå stōiš ahūmca ratūmca … ‘I approach Thee, the ratu, with praise, who art Ahura Mazdā, the spirit of the spiritual creatures, the ahu and ratu of the spiritual existence’, Zand: tō rad x^vāham ō ēn yazišn kē ohrmazd mēnōg hē andar hān ī mēnōgān dāmān mēnōgān stī ox ud rad [kū x^vadāy ud dastvar he]. NS 1 ī andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg, u-š x^vadīh ēk, ud nām ohrmazd-iz, x^vadāy ī mahist,…

[3] . ēk ped ēkīh ōstīgān (yak pa yakī ōstyą: एकस्मात् एकतयाच सूत्रधार). Cf. Dk iv, M 409 ēk ī ped ēkīh ōstīgān abrīn. See 1.33, 16.62.
«اگر حقیقت توحید خواهی به دان که هر چه در تو محال است در ربوبیت صدق است، چون یکی ای که هر که یکی را به حقیقت به دانست از شرک بری گشت». قابوسنامه، غ. یوسفی، تهران، (۱۳۴۵)، ۱۳۷۵، ۱۱.

[4] . abardar šaš amehrspend (aβartar haft aməšāspəṇd: उत्कृष्टतरात् सप्त अमरान् गुरुन्). Cf. NS 2 abardar šaš amehrspand.

material signs (or, creations)[5], namely the (primordial) Man[6], Holy Cow[7], Fire[8], Metal[9], Earth[10], Water[11] and Plant[12]. He created man as master of the creatures in fulfilment of His will.

7-10. He likewise sent, age after age, through his beneficence and mercifulness, to His creatures the *Scientia divina* of purity and mixture, naturalness and willingness; and likewise the wit[13],

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[5] . daxšagān (dašagą/ JJ, JE dahišną: चिह्नानिच). Pers. daxšag ‘mark, sign, stamp, indication; memory’.

[6] . mardōm (mardum: मनुष्याः) ≈ Av. gaya marətan. Cf. Y 19.2 narəm aṣavanəm ‘the Righteous Man’.

[7] . gōspend (gōspəṇd: गोपशवश्च) ≈ Av. gao aēvō.dāta. Cf. Y 19.2 gąm.

[8] . ātaš (ātaš : अग्नयश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 ātrəm ahurahe mazdå puθrəm ‘the Fire, Ahura Mazdā’s son’, Y 37.1, aṣəm ‘Truth’.

[9] . ayōxšust (ayaoxšust: धातवश्च) ≈ asmān. Av. ayōxšusta/ ayaoxšusta- ‘molten metal’, cf. Yt 13.2 aom asmanəm … yō hištaite … ayaŋhō kəhrpa x^vaēnahe ‘yonder Sky … which is established … with the appearance of a bright metal’.

[10] . zamīg (zamī: भुवश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 ząm ‘Earth’.

[11] . āb (āβ: आपश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 āpəm ‘Water’.

[12] . urvar (urvar: वनस्पतयश्च). Cf. Y 19.2 urvarąm ‘the Plants’. These are the primordial material creations related to the six annual festivals (Gāhāmbār).

[13] . vīr (vīr: चैतन्यस्य. Skt. caitanya- nt. ‘consciousness; intelligence’). Pers. vīr ‘wit’, it is the faculty of intellectual awareness and perception ≈ Arab. الذهن. Pers. بیر ‘learning by heart’, Gazī vīr, NBal. gīr ‘memory’. Cf. 5.83-85 dānišn ī ayābāg, ud vīr ī x^vāstār abespārdār, ud uš ī ganzvar nigāhdār, Dk iii, M 48 vīr nirōg x^vāstār ud ayāftār (PDK 31 ayābāg vīr, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg), Dk vi, M 474 xrad … xēm … vīr. See 4.58, 5.5, 84, 8.113.

intelligence[14], wisdom[15] and knowledge[16], consciousness[17] and fravahr-soul[18] which are the organs of the soul that are seeking information of these five immaterial organs[19] –i.e., sight,

14 . uš (hōš: स्मृतेश्च. Skt. smṛti- f. ‘remembrance, memory’). Pers. uš ‘comprehension; intelligence; memory’, it fulfils mainly the function of memory ≈ Arab. الحفظ. [T]Parth. uš ≈ Gr. πρόνησις, Syr. ܪܓܫܐ. Pers. ušīgān ‘intelligences, intellectuals’ (Dk iv, M 409). uš and vīr are related to Aṣa Vahišta (ŠnŠ 22.3 urdvahišt … uš ud vīr). Notice that vīr and uš are interchangeable. Cf. Dk iii, M 48 ped uš ōz dāštār ud pādār, DD 2.13 uš ī pāyāg, CHP 58 x^vāhišn az uš, but in VZ 30.36 vīr x^vāhed. AV 53 uš dāštārdar, Dk vi, M 484 uš kār ēd ganzvarīh kirdan ud tis ī vīr x^vāst nigāh dāštan. See 4.58, 5.5, 85, 8.113.

15 . xrad (xard: बुद्धेश्च. Skt. buddhi- f. ‘intelligence, reason, intellect’). Pers. xrad ‘wisdom, intellect; admonition; philosophy’. Cf. Dk vii, M 623 abāg hān ī visp-$^{\times}$vizōh ōz uš, hān ī hamāg-ayāb nirōg vīr, ud hān ī harv vizīn pettūgīh xrad, Dk iii, M 48 ped xrad zōr nigerīdār vizīngar ud kārīgēnīdār ast ī dānišn, PDK 5 vizin ped xrad, DD 2.13 xrad ī vizīnāg, AV 53 xrad vēnāgdar (Pahlavi Texts 79-80 dīdār ī xrad), MX 16.50 xrad ud uš ud vīr, Dk vi, M 527 xrad pedyārag drōzanīh u-š brādrod varanīgīh. See 1.25, 4.58, 5.5, 82, 8.113, 10.61.

16 . dānišn (dānašni: ज्ञानस्यच. Skt. jñāna- nt. ‘knowledge’). Pers. dānišn ‘knowledge, science’. Cf. [T]M 49 (DGO, Dk vi, M 515) xrad ud dānišn ≈ Arab. الحكمة والعلم. See 8.113-114.

17 . bōy (bōi: जीवस्यच. Skt. jīva- ‘life, existence’). Pers. bōy (Av. baoδah- nt. ‘consciousness, perception, awareness, waking’). Cf. VZ 30.22, 43 gyān bōy fravahr, Dk iii, M 48 dād ēsted avišān ayyārīh az andarōn tan bōy ud fravaš, Dk iii, M 122 bōy ī tan vēnāgēnāg. See 5.86.

18 . fravahr (fravaš: वृद्धेश्च. Skt. vṛddhi- f. ‘growth, increase’) . Pers. fravahr ‘fravahr-soul/ nature; air’ (Av. fravaṣi ‘preference, choice; confession of faith; other-soul’). Cf. VZ 30.35 frāzvaxšēnīdār fravahr, DD 2.13 gyān ī zīvēnāg ud fravahr ī vaxšēnāg (dārāg?). [T]M 292 I frāvahr ped srōšāyī aziš uzīhed (fravahr/ Parth. ardāw frawardīn ≈ Sod. frān, Gr. (Copt.) ἀήρ, Syr. ܐܐܪ, Arab. النّسيم). See 8.60, 87.

19 . ruvān abzārān (rvą aβazārą: आत्मनः शस्त्राणि), abzārān ī mēnōg (aβazārān ī mainyō: शस्त्रानां अद्रश्यानां) ≈ Syr. ܪܓܫܐ ܓܘܝܐ, Arab. الحواس الباطنه. vīr,

hearing, smell, taste and touch[20]– by the five material organs[21] – i.e., eye, ear, nose, mouth and hand–, the whole bodily senses. And [simultaneously] together with these organs, He created man for the guidance of the creatures[22].

11-19. He created the Mazdayasnian religion of omniscience like a tree, with one trunk[23], two boughs[24], three branches[25], four

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uš, xrad ud dānišn, bōy, fravahr: Cf. Y 26.4 (= Yt 13.155) ahūmca (= uštana/uštāna) daēnąmca baoδasca urvānəmca fravaṣīm, Dk iv, M 415 fravahr ud bōy ud ox ud uš ud xrad, NS 5 šaš zōrān ī gyān –menišn, gōbišn, kunišn, vīr, uš ud xrad. Cf. also the five members of the Great Nous in Manichaeism (Parth. bām, manohmed, uš, andēšišn, parmānag). Bar Bahlul: ܗܘܢܐ، ܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ، ܒܘܢܐ، ܪܥܝܢܐ، ܚܠܡܬܐ; Ebedjesu: ܚ̈ܝܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܢܦܫܐ ܚܡܫܐ. ܦܘܠܚܢܐ. ܘܡܬܚܫܒܢܘܬܐ. ܒܗܘܢܐ. ܗܘܒܠܐ. ܡܕܪܟܐ.

[20] . vēnišn, ašnavišn, hambōyišn, caxšišn, permāhišn (vīnašni šnaβašni aṇbōišni cāšašni padarmāišni: निरीक्षणंच श्रवनंच आघ्राणंच आस्वादनंच स्पर्शनंच) ≈ Gr. ἡ ὄψις, ἡ ἀκοή, ἡ ὄσφρησις, ἡ γεῦσις, ἡ ἁφή (cf. Aristotle’s Περὶ ψυχῆς, 424b), Lat. visus, auditus, olfactus, gustus, tactus, Syr. ܚܙܬܐ، ܫܡܥܐ، ܡܘܪܚܐ، ܛܥܡܬܐ، ܡܓܫܫܬܐ, Arab. البصر، السمع، الشمّ، المذاق، اللمس.

« آدمی فزونی یافت بر دیگر جانوران به ده درج که اندر تنِ او است: پنج درون و پنج بیرون. پنج نهانی چون: اندیشه و یاد گرفتن و نگاه داشتن و تخیل کردن و تمییز و گفتار. و پنج ظاهر چون: سمع و بصر و شمّ و لمس و ذوق. » قابوسنامه، ۲۸

[21] . abzārān ī gētīg (aβazārą i gəθī : शस्त्रैः द्रश्यैः) ≈ tan mārdārān (tan māladārą : तनोः त्वक्) ≈ Syr. ܪ̈ܓܫܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ, Arab. الحواس الظاهره.

[22] . rāyēnīdārīh ī dāmān (rāinīdārī i dąmąn: प्रवृत्तिकारितायै सृष्टीनां). Cf. NS 3.

[23] . stūnag (stūnaa: प्रकांडः. Skt. prakāṇḍa- ‘the trunk of a tree’. Pers. stūn(ag) ‘pillar’.

[24] . baxšišn (baxšašni : स्कंधविकाशौ. Skt. skandha- ‘the stem or trunk of a tree; a large branch or bough’, vikāśa- ‘brightness; appearance’). Pers. baxšišn ‘distribution, appointment, bestowal, division; branching (off), bough’.

[25] . azg (azg: शाखाः. Skt. śākhā- ‘a limb of the body; division’). Pers. azg ‘branch, twig, shoot, sprout’.

stems[26] and five roots[27].[28] The one trunk is measure[29]; the two boughs are action and protection[30]; the three branches are *humata, hūxta,* h_u*varšta,* that is, good thought, good word, and

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[26] . sāg (dəšaa : जटाः. Skt. jaṭa- ‘a fibrous root; the hair twisted together’). Pers. sāg ‘stem; foreleg’ (TD2, 422; StSr 23), Pers.-Arab. ساق, ساقه. Cf. PDK 43.4 dəša: शाखा (urvarān kē-šān huzihrīh ud hupēdāgīh ud abēbīmīh / varg, viškōb ud bar ud abārīg abāyišnīg gāh ped bālist ī tāg ud sāg ‘the trees which their becomingness, appearance, [+]leaves, blossoms, fruits, and other desirable things hold the place on the top, namely in the twigs and stems’), Dk iii, M 326 اوسو (urvarām tāg ud sāg ud varg ud viškōb du bar ‘the twigs and stems and leaves and blossoms and fruits of the tree’), StSr 23 وسوا (dār ī vazurg-tāg frāx-sāg ud zufr-rēšag ‘trees with mighty branches, wide stems, and deep roots’).

[27] . rēšag or gabr-rēšag (brīšaa: मूलानि. Skt. mūla- ‘root’). Pers. rēšag ‘root, fibre’.

[28] . In the Mahābhārata 5, 29, 46 the Pāṇḍava are compared to a tree:
yudhiṣṭhiro dharmamayo mahādrumaḥ; skandho 'rjuno bhīmaseno 'sya śākhāḥ/
mādrīputrau puṣpaphale samṛddhe; mūlaṃ tv ahaṃ brahma ca brāhmaṇāś ca// ‘Yudhiṣṭhira is a big tree (druma-) consisting merely in dharma (‘law; religion’), Arjuna is its trunk (skandha-); Bhīmasena its branches (śākhā-); the sons of Mādrī its abundant flowers and fruits (puṣpa-phala-); Kṛṣṇa the Veda (brahman-), and the brāhmans its root (mūla-).’

[29] . peymān (paemą: प्रमाणं). Pers. peymān ‘(right) measure; bond; stature; moderation; maturity; agreement, contract, solemn-pledge’ ≈ Gr. μέτρον, μετριότησ, Syr. ܡܫܘܚܘܬܐ, Arab. اعتدال، قصد.

[30] . kunišn ud pahrēzišn (kunišni u paharəžašni: कर्म्मंच प्रतियत्नश्च. Skt. karman ‘act, action; duty’, prati-yatna- ‘care bestowed upon anything, effort’). Pers. kunišn ‘act, action, work, deed, practice’ (it renders Av. śyaoθana) ≈ Gr. ἔργον, Syr. ܥܒܕܐ, Arab. عمل، اختبار. Cf. Dk viii, M 677 dēn dānišn ud kunišn, Hn 2.9 hān ī x^vēš dēn kunišn ī x^vēš. See 8.117. Pers. [1]pahrēzišn ‘abstention, abstinence’ (ŠnŠ 10.8 škeft pahrēzišn), [2]pahrēzišn ‘care, protection’ (pahrēzišnīg ≈ Av. vīdaṇt adj. ‘caring for’), cf. NS 5 āsnīdag kunišn ud pahrēzišn, Dk iii, M 162 kunišn ud pahrēzišn ī az dēn hamōg, [3]pahrēzišn ‘course; orbit’ (cf. Syr. ܕܘܒܪܐ), cf. [T]S 9d 12-14 ravišn ud pahrēzišn.

good deed[31]; the four stems are the four classes[32] of the Religion by which the world is well-ordered, that is, priesthood[33], warriorship[34], husbandry[35] and artisanship[36]; the five roots are the five lords[37] whose scriptural names are house-lord[38], village-lord[39], district-lord[40], country-lord[41] and pontiff[42]. And [there is]

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31 . Cf. Y 19.16 θri.afsməm … humatəm hūxtəm hvarštəm.

32 . cahār pēšagān (cihār pəšagą: चतस्रो विद्या) ≈ Av. caθru.pištrəm.

33 . āsrōnīh or āsrōgīh (āsrūī: आचार्यता).

34 . arsēštārīh (aratištārī: क्षत्रियता).

35 . vāstryōšīh (vāstryōšī: कुटुंबिकता).

36 . hudoxšīh (hūtuxšī: प्रकृतिव्यवसायता). Cf. Y 19.17 āθrava raθaēštå vāstryō fšuyąs hūitiš.

37 . panz pedān (paṇja vadą: पंच पतयो). Cf. Av. paṇca.ratu.

38 . mānbed (mąnavaṯ: गृहपतिः). Av. nmānō.paiti 'lord of the house'.

39 . vīsped (vīsavaṯ: वीसपतिः). Av. vīs.paiti 'lord of the village; master of the tribe'.

40 . zandbed (zandavaṯ: जंदपतिः). Av. zaṇtu.paiti 'lord of the district'.

41 . dahebed or dahyubed (dehavaṯ: ग्रामपतिः). Av. daŋhu.paiti 'lord of the land/country'.

42 . zarduštrōdum (zaraθuštrōtəm: जरथुस्त्रोतिमश्च). Av. zaraθuštrō.təma 'the most like that of Zaraθuštra', the title of those who replaced Zaraθuštra after his death.

Cf. the pentad of the sons of the Living Spirit (mihr yazd) in Manichaeism: mānbed (ὠμοφόρος, ܣܒܠܐ, Atlas), vīsbed (ܐܕܡܘܣ ܢܘܗܪܐ 'the Adamas of Light', Adamas), zandbed (ܡܠܟ ܫܘܒܚܐ 'the king of Glory', Gloriosus rex), dahebed (Φεγγοκάτοχος, ܨܦܬ ܙܝܘܐ, Splenditenens 'the keeper of splendour'), and pahr(ag)bed, Sogd. smānxšēδ (ܡܠܟܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܐܝܩܪܐ, Rex honoris 'the king of honour').

one master of masters[43], that is, the king of kings, the lord of this world[44].

20-30. He made manifest the microcosm[45] that is man in the likeness of these four classes of the world:

The head corresponds to priesthood;
The hand to warriorship;
The belly to husbandry;
And the feet to artisanship.

So too the four virtues (/ qualities)[46] that are in man i.e. temper (or, character)[47], skill[48], wisdom[49] and diligence[50]:

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43 . sarān sar (sarą sar: शिरसां शिरो). Cf. Syr. ܪܫܐ ܕܪ̈ܫܐ ‘princeps principum, (title) chief Vizir’.

44 . dahebed ī gēhān (dehavaṯ i gəhą: स्वामी पृथिव्याः). Cf. Yt. 10.145 miϑrəm vīspanąm daxʹyunąm daŋ́hupaitīm yazamaide, RS 3.13.5 ṛ́kvāṇo agním indhate hótāraṃ viśpátiṃ viśā́m.

45 . gēhān ī kōdak (gəhą kardaa: भूमौ कीर्त्तनं) ≈ šahr īg kōdak, kōdakbūd, Parth. zambūdīg kašūdag, Gr. μικρόκοσμος, Syr. ܒܪܢܫܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ. Cf. PDK 28. See 16.24.

46 . cahār hunarān (cihār hunarą: चत्वारो गुणाः. Skt. guṇa ‘thread; species; quality’). Or perhaps: cahār ahunvarān (Av. caθβārō ahuna vairya). Cf. Bhagavad-gītā, XVIII, 41 brāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-viśāṁ śūdrāṇāṁ ca parantapa karmāṇi pravibhaktāni svabhāva-prabhavair guṇaiḥ.

47 . xēm (xīm: शीलंच. Skt. śīla ‘habit, custom; disposition, character’). Pers. xēm ‘character, temperance, temper, disposition; morale; morals; personality’. Cf. Vd 13.44 asti šē haēm yaϑa aϑaurune ‘He has the character of a priest’.

48 . hunar (hunar: शौर्येंच. Skt. śaurya ‘valour, heroism’). Pers. hunar ‘skill, talent; learning; virtue’ (Av. hunara- m.‘virile strength ; beauty; skill’, OPers. uvnr /ūnara-/ nt. ‘quality, talent’) ≈ Gr. ἀρετή. Cf. Pahlavi Texts 79-80 xēm ud hunar ud vehīh, DGO hunar ped toxšāgīh.

Priesthood corresponds to temper, for temper is the most proper function of the priests, that they do not commit sin on account of shame and fear.

Warriorship corresponds to skill, for the most proper embellishment of the warriors is skill which is explained “manliness by itself”[51].

Husbandry corresponds to wisdom, for the wise action is the cultivation of the world and the linking with the eschatological renovation [of the existence][52].

Artisanship corresponds to diligence, for diligence is the greatest propagation of their class.[53]

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49 . xrad (xard: बुद्धिश्च). Pers. xrad ‘intellect, wisdom (Av. xratu-/ xraθβ- m. ‘mental power; will; intellect’, OPers. xratu-/ xraθu- ‘id.’, Skt. krátu- ‘power ; will’). See 1.8, 4.58.

50 . toxšāgīh (tuxšāī: अध्यवसायश्च. Skt. adhyavasāya ‘mental effort, apprehension’). Pers. toxšāgīh ‘diligence, zeal’(Av. θβaxšah- nt. ‘zeal’, Skt. tvákṣas- nt. ‘energy, vigor’) ≈ Syr. ܐܚܡܚܘܬܐ, Arab. الاجتهاد. Cf. DGO pursīd kū: xrad ped cē vēš abzāyed, ud hunar ped cē vēš baved, ud xēm ped cē vēš vīrāyed? guft: xrad ped hamōzišn, ud xēm ped hunsandīh, ud hunar ped toxšāgīh. Cf. also Cicero, *De Inventione* II, 159 Nam virtus est animi habitus naturae modo atque rationi consentaneus. Quamobrem omnibus eius partibus cognitis tota vis erit simplicis honestatis considerata. Habet igitur partes quattuor: prudentiam, iustitiam, fortitudinem, temperantiam.

51 . Popular etymology interprets hunar as follows: “narīh ī az x^{v}adīh”, that is, honar < *hva-nar-. The correct etymology is thus: hunar < hu-nar < hu-nara- < *su-$h_2$ner lit. ‘good in manliness’ or ‘with good heroes’ (hu- ‘well-, good’, nar- ‘man’), cf. Skt. sūnára- ‘mighty, fortunate’.

52 . fraškird/ frašegird (frašōkard: शओसीओशं). Pers. fraškird (Av. frašō.kərəiti ‘making brilliant ; Renovation’, Armen. Հրաշակերտ ‘extraordinary’). Cf. Dk iii, M 256 ped ham tōhmag abāzpeyvannišnīh ō frašegird peyvastan, Dk vi, M 492 se peyvann … peyvann ī gēhān … peyvann ī dēn … peyvann ī fraškird. See 4.11.

All these diverse establishments are upon one trunk, truth-and-measure[54], opposed to its rival, lie[55] and its organs.

31-34. I noticed this, multifariously and of many kinds, that many religions and beliefs in the world that all are discordant, rival, breaker and enemy one as regards the other, in spite of their discord, breaking and hostility to one another, they combat however, in alliance and with united force, against the sole truth. The essence of truth is one force, steadfast in unity, which is

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[53] . Here is the scheme :

hannām	*pēšag*	*ahuna vairya*
sar	āsrōnīh	xēm
dast	arsēštārīh	hunar
aškamb	vāstryōšīh	xrad
pāy	hudoxšīh	toxšāgīh

Cf. Dk iv, M 429 andar-šān tan ī mardōmān cahār pēšag ī gēhān ped baxšišn : abar sar āsrōnīh; ud abar dast arsēštārīh; ud abar aškam vāstryōšīh; ud abar pāy hudoxšīh. ud azabar cahār pēšag gyān, abar-z gyān ox ud x^{v}adāyīh guft. Cf. also Ṛg-Veda, x, 90.12 brāhmaṇò 'sya múkham āsīd bāhū́ rājanyàḥ kr̥táḥ ūrū́ tád asya yád vaíśyaḥ padbhyā́ṃ śūdró ajāyata 'The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth (mukham 'mouth; head'); of both his arms was made the Rājanya ('warriors'); of both his thighs the Vaiśya ('husbandman; trader'); from his two feet was produced the Śūdra ('the servile class')'.

[54] . Persian terms rāstīh 'truth' and peymān 'measure' correspond to Avesta aṣa 'truth; (cosmic) order; harmony'. Cf. Dk iv, M 410-411 u-šān ravāgx^{v}adāyīh ravāgdēnīh ī ast rāstīh peymān.

[55] . druz (drūž: द्रूजस्य). Pers. druz '(female) demon; lie, deceit, fiend' (Av. druj, druxš f. 'lie, deceit; demon', the evil principle represented by the Daēva), opp. rāstīh, cf. CHP 38.

Truth. The lie[56] is manifold, which may be in numerous adverse forms, but all these are from one base, that is Lie[57].

35-53. [58]I, who am Mardānfarrox son of Ohrmazddād[59], provided this composition[60]. For, I observed in the world (in this period)[61], numerous kinds and many religious views and many discussions[62] of the sects[63]. From childhood on I have always been fervent-heartedly a suitor and researcher of truth. That is

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[56] . drōv (drōg: अनृतंच). Pers. drō/ drōv adj. 'false, deceitful', subst. 'falsehood, lie, deceit' (Av. draoga/ draoγa 'false ; the Lie, deceit', OPers. drauga), opp. rāstīh (Dk iii, M 233), vizurdīh (Dk viii, M 713).

[57] . drōzanīh (drōžanī: अनृतस्य). Pers. drōzan 'liar, deceitful; lying, fraudulent, wicked' (Av. draojina 'lying, liar', OPers. draujana 'adherent of the Lie') ≈ Syr. ܟܘܠܐ. Pers. drōzanīh 'deceitfulness, lie, falsehood', opp. rāstīh (see 11.5, 15.138). Cf. J 18 drōzanīh ud drōdādvarīh ud zūrgugāyīh.

[58] . Cf. MX, I.34-41.

[59] . mardānfarrox ī ohrmazddādān (mardąfrōxa i hōrməzddāt̰: मर्दांफ्रोषो होर्म्मिज्ददादस्य पुत्रो).

[60] . pesāzišn (pasāžašni: आरचनां). Pers. pesāzišn 'composition, formation; component, constituent' ≈ Gr. σύνθεσις, Syr. ܪܘܟܒܐ '(literary) composition', Arab. تركيب، تأليف.

[61] . See 9.16.

[62] . vasuskārišnīh (vas xᵛaškārašnī: बहुसमालोचनत्वं). Pers. uskārišn 'consideration; deliberation' (سکالش).

[63] . kēšān (kəšą: दर्शनानां). Pers. kēš (Av. t̰kaēša 'teacher; doctrine'), cf. F 5, KKZ kēš ī dēvān, J 16 vas kēš ud dād ud vurravišn, AVN 1.9 ped tis ī yazdān gumān būd hend ud vas ēvēnag kēš ud vurravišn, judristagīh ud gumānīh ud juddādestānīh andar gēhān bē ō pēdāgīh āmad. In the Manichaean texts also kēšān means 'alien or false teachings', cf. [T]M 2.1 pedīrag kēšān raft. See 10.38, 12.31, 15.4.

why I have travelled in many lands and seashores[64]. And I have collected and selected these summarized discourses, some of which are questions of those who seek after the truth and some are from the writings and memoranda of the ancient sages, true priests[65], especially those of the blessed "Ādarpādyāvandān". And I have appointed to this memorandum the title **Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār**, "Doubt-and-doubtfulness-removing". Because it is verily requisite for removing the doubts of neophytes[66] about the knowledge of the truth and the trustworthiness and truthfulness[67] of the good religion, in contrast with the miserable[68] opponents. I have composed and arranged it not for the wise and expert, but for the students and novices[69], so that

[64] . zrehvimand (zrih vīmaṇd: समुद्रसीमासुच.). ō-z vas kišvar ud zrehvimand franaft ham, cf. MX 1.35 ped xradx^{v}āstārīh andar ēn gēhān šahr šahr ud pāygōs pāygōs franaft.

[65] . pēšēnīg dānāgān rāstān dastvarān (pə̄šīnī dānāgą rāstą dastūrą: प्राक्तनेभ्यो ज्ञानिनां सत्यानां आचार्याणां). Pers. rāst 'right, staraight' may translate Av. ərəši- m. (Skt. ṛṣi 'singer (of sacred hymns), (inspired) poet, sage, seer'). However, rāstān dastvarān could refer to the true religious authorities, cf. Dk iv, M 412, NM 1, 4, 10 rāst-dastvarīh. Cf. also X^{v}R II.17 pēš dānāgān ud hērbedān ud dastvarān, NM II.2.11 rāstān ud dānāgān, ^{T}M 9 I dānāgān ud vizīddādestānān.

[66] . nōghamōzagān (nō āmōžagąn : नूतनशिक्षावतां). Pers. nōg-hamōzag 'neophyte, abecedarian'. See 10.78.

[67] . rāstīh ud vābarīgānīh (rāstī u vāfrīṇgānī: सत्यतायाः प्रसिद्धतायाः), cf. Dk iv, M 411.

[68] . škōh (škōh: समूहेषु). Pers. škōh 'poor, miserable'(OPers. škauθi 'poor, weak', opp. tunuva$_{n}$t 'powerful, mighty'), opp. hangad (HAM 152), grāmag (Dk iii, M 234), tuvānīg (Dk viii, M 686). Pers. škōh renders Syriac ܡܣܟܢܐ (The Book of Psalms, 131.15).

[69] . u-m nē dānāgān ud abzārumandān bē frahangīgān ud nōgabzārān rāy kird ud ārāst (vaem nə̄ dānāgą u aβazārmaṇdą bə̄ farahaṇgīą nōaβazārą rā kard u ārāst: अहं न ज्ञानिनां शस्त्रवतां किंतु विद्यार्थिनां नूतनशस्त्राणां हेतवे चकार आरचंयश्चा).

many of them may acquire more certainty regarding the wonder and the trustworthiness of the good religion and the discourses of the old teaching[70]. As regards distinguished sages, I ask of those wishing to consider it, not to consider the little knowledge of the narrator and composer, but the greatness, the truthfulness, and the trustworthiness of the logical discourses[71] of ancient sages. For I, who am the composer, belong not to the rank of the teachers[72], but to the rank of the students.[73] And it seemed to me justified to bestow, liberal-heartedly, a theological treatise on neophytes. Because he who bestows the little knowledge that he has on those who are worthy is more acceptable than he who

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Pers. dānāg ‘wise, sage’ (X^{v}R, II.17) is rendered by Skt. jñānin ‘wise; astrologer’. Pers. abzārumand ‘skilled, expert’ (AVN 1.7 abzārumandān ud dānāgān) is rendered by Skt. śastravat ‘provided with a weapon’. Pers. frahangīg ‘student, pupil’ (SS 20 cē an frahangīgdar) is rendered by Skt. vidyārthin adj. ‘desirous of knowledge’ (≈ Pers. dānišnkāmag); m. ‘student, pupil’. Pers. nōg-abzār ‘beginner, novice, debutant’ (Dk iii, M 406) is rendered by Skt. nūtana-śastra ‘with new instrument’. The two ranks of the school are:

dānāg	frahangīg, dānišngāmag
abzārumand	nōgabzār
hamōzăg, hamōzgār	(nōg)hamōzag

70 . pōryōdkēšīg (paoiryōt̰kaešī: पूर्व्वन्यायवत्याश्च). Pers. pōryōdkēš ‘doctor of the earliest times’ (Av. paoiryō. t̰kaēša ‘first teacher/ doctor’), cf. CHP 1 pōryōdkēšān ī fradumdānišnān. See 5.93.

71 . vimandgōbišnīh (vīmaṇdagaβəšnī: सीमावत्याश्च). Pers. vimand-gōbišnīh ≈ vimand-soxanīh (see 5.2, 10.65). Cf. Dk vii, M 598 u-š (ōšnar) āhuft <ud> hamuxt vimandgōbišnīh, hān-z ī vas mardōm sūd frahang.

72 . hamōzgārīh (āmōžgārī: शिक्षापनायाः). Pers. hamōzgār ‘teacher’ ≈ Syr. ܡܠܦܢܐ. Pers. hamōzgārīh ‘teaching’, cf. Dk ix, M 791 hamōzgārīh ī mānsrspend, see also 4.105 pāyag ī hamōzgārīh.

73 . hamōzišnīgīh (āmōžašnī: शिक्षायाः). Pers. hamōzišnīg ‘learner, student’ ≈ Syr. ܝܠܘܦܐ. Pers. hamōzišnīgīh ‘learning’, see 4.105.

knows much, but from whom those who are worthy do not receive benefit or help.

The previous sages stated that: Liberality[74] is of three kinds, of thought, of word and of deed.

Liberality of thought: to desire good for whoever is alike, just like for him.

Liberality of word: to teach to those who are worthy all the righteous knowledge and information acquainted by him. As a certain sage said that: “I want to acquaint all advantageous knowledge and teach it to those who help (the other), and acquire a desirable profit”.

Liberality of deed: [to bestow] the good that he has acquired something on those who are worthy.

54-57. Furthermore, [I have composed it, so that] those who are good may remember me, saying “may his soul be saved”. For this reason, I have arranged it, so that the sages, through their beneficence and kind observation may remember me, saying “may his soul be immortal (and happy)”. Since it is said that: “He who observes all the good creatures with good eyes,

[74] . rādīh (rādī: दक्षिणा). Pers. rād (Av. [2]rāiti- ‘generous, liberal, munificent’, Skt rātí- ‘id.’), opp. apparag (Dk iv, M 427), vinīgar (Dk vi, M 579), cf. ĀfM rād bed cōn tištar. rādīh ‘generosity’ (Av. [1]rāiti ‘gift; munifecence ; generosity’, Skt rātí- ‘id.’) ≈ Arab. السخاء, opp. vinīgarīh (Dk vi, M 549), penīh (Dk viii, M 733), cf. Dk iii, M 135 rādīh ud rāstīh, Dk vi, M 589 dād ī hurdad rādīh.

his eye is [like] the eye of the sun”. For the sun, indeed, observes and illuminates all creatures with a benevolent eye.[75]

[75] . Cf. Y 68.22 nəmō ābyō dōiϑrābyō yå ahurahe mazdå ‘Homage unto these two eyes of Ahura Mazdā’ Zand: namāz ō dōisr ī ohrmazd [dōisr ī ohrmazd guft, kū: niyāyišn ō man ōy kird baved kē hamāg dām ī ohrmazd ped hucašmīh abar nigered, ēc kas ped duščašmīh abar nē nigered ud hixr ō āb nē bared ‘Homage unto the (two) eyes of Ahura Mazdā [“the eyes of Ahura Mazdā” is said, that is: he will have offered praise unto me –he who looks upon all creatures of Ahura Mazdā with a good eye and does not look upon any with an evil eye, and does not carry impurity to water]’. Av. hu-dōiθra- adj. ‘having good eyes’, duž-dōiθra- adj. ‘having evil eyes’. Cf. also Dk iii, M 248 veh-dēn … cašm cōn [hān ī] x^{v}aršēd abar dāmān ī ohrmazd ‘the eye of him who is of the Good Religion resembles the eye of the sun upon the creatures of Ahura Mazdā’.

First Chapter

2

1-2. Chapter one: On some questions that the ever-successful Mihrayyār son of Muḥammad[1] from Spāhān[2], put forward not out of absurd curiosity, but with good intentions, and the answer thereto.

§ 3. As for that which he asked: “Why did Aṇgra Mainyu (harmful spirit) harm the Light and how was that possible? Since it is so that he is not of the same substance[3], and we always observe that a thing avoids that which is not of the same substance as itself[4], as the water does the fire”.

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[1] . « This person, who is not mentioned elsewhere, was probably a layman and evidently a Mazdā-worshipper, although his father’s name seems to be Muhammadan, either Maḥmûd or Muḥammad. The Parsis under a Muhammadan government often adopted Muhammadan names, as they also took Hindu names in India; but, in this case, it is perhaps more probable that the father had become a convert to Muhammadanism, and changed his name accordingly, after his son had grown up». (West, 122-123). « Mihrayyār b. Muhammad est évidemment musulman. Son objection apparaît dans toute sa portée à la lumière de la controverse d’Abū’l-Huḏail avec les mazdéens » (Menasce, 36). I much suspect that Mihrayyār –described as a truth-lover (1.38) and well-intentioned (2.2) – was a Muslim!

[2] . Cf. Y colophon az farrox būm ī spāhān.

[3] . hamgōhr (hamgōhar : एकरत्नः) ≈ Gr. ὁμοούσιος; Syr. ܫܘܐ ܒܐܘܣܝܐ; ܒܪ ܐܘܣܝܐ. Pers. gōhr ≈ οὐσία, Skt. द्रव्य, Arab. جوهر.

[4] . judgōhr (jaṯgōhar : विभिन्नरत्न). Pers. jud-gōhr ≈ Syr. ܫܚܠܦܐ ܒܐܘܣܝܐ. Cf. [T]M 9 II ēn-z abāg tan hamgōhr būdan ‘the being of the same substance of this (mēnōg) also with the body’, gyān az tan judgōhr ‘Soul and body are of

§ 4-18. The answer is this: The Angra Mainyu's harm to the Light is precisely because[5] of their difference of substances. It is by reason of his desire of hostility which is a constant aspect of his substance that he is hostile to all that is of a different substance. Harmedness and harm, of whatever kind may they be do not take place except from difference of substance and those of different substances. For between those of the same substance there is consensus and concord, and not mutual harm and harmedness. Those of different substances, because of their substantial contrariness[6], every time they meet one another, become hostile[7] and harmful to each other. While those of the same substance, because of their concord, and their community of substance, when they meet one another, become lively and

different substance', VZ 30.23 gyān … hamgōhr ī ātaš 'the soul is of the same substance as the fire'. See also 1.15: az bunēšt-ē judgōhr 'from a substantially different principle'.

[5] . vahān (vahąn: कारणं). Pers. vahān ≈ Gr. αἰτία; Lat. causa; Syr. ܥܠܬܐ; Arab. السبب\العلّة.

[6] . hamēstār-gōhrīh (hamǝstārgōharī: प्रतिद्वंद्विरत्नत्वात्). Pers. hamēstār (Av. hamaēstar- 'suppressor, remover') ≈ Gr. ἐναντίος, Syr. ܣܩܘܒܠܐ. Pers. hamēstārīh ≈ Gr. ἐναντιότης, Syr. ܣܩܘܒܠܝܘܬܐ. The words hamēstār, pedīrag, and hambidīg are often interchangeable.

[7] . zadār (zadār: हंता), zadārīh (zadārī: निहंतृता). Pers. zadār translates Av. aka- 'evil'; and gennāg translates Av. aŋra- 'harmful' (gl. zadār). Cf. Bd. 48 gennāgīh ī ast zadārīh, ō abzōnīgīh (hamēstār) 'harmfulness, that is zadārīh, [is opposed] to excellence', DD 36.101 pas az fraškird … nē baved angramen cē nēst zadārīh 'After the Renovation … there is no Aṇgra Mainyu because there is no zadārīh'.

efficient[8] and assist each other[9]. The disturbance and discord and disunion of those of different substances[10] are just as heat and cold which, on account of their substantial opposition, are mutually hostile, harmful, striving and disturbing, through their perpetual substance.[11] Because every disturbance comes from the natural properties of coldness and dryness, heat and moisture, there are hostility, harmfulness and opposition of one another.[12] For the disturbance of bodies comes from the perpetual combat of heat and cold, dryness and moisture.[13]

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8 . kārīgīhend (kārī hə̣nd: कार्यीयंति). Pers. kārīg ‘active; efficient; effectual; soldier’ (it renders Av. yāhī, cf. Y 46.14); kārīgīh ‘activity’, opp. agārīh. Cf. Dk iii, M111.

9 . Pers. hamayyār ‘auxiliary ; co-operating’, cf. Bd 183 hamkār ud hamayyār.

10 . judīh ud anhamīh ī judgōhrān (jadī i hamgōharą anahamī i jaṯgōharą: विभिन्नत्वं यत् एकरत्नानां अनैक्यात् विभिन्नरत्नानां). West and Menasce follow Neryosang’s reading. Pers. judīh, opp. hamīh. Pers. jud° ≈ Gr. διάφορος, Syr. ܡܫܚܠܦܐ; Pers. hamīh ≈ Gr. διαφορά, Lat. differentia, Syr. ܡܫܚܠܦܘܬܐ, Arab. فصل, Gr. ἀλλοίωσις. Pers. ham° ≈ Gr. ὁμο-, Syr. ܫܘܝܘܬ; Pers. hamīh ≈ Syr. ܫܘܝܘܬܐ; Pers. an-hamīh ≈ Syr. ܠܐ ܫܘܝܘܬܐ. For judīh ī hamgōhr, cf. Dk iii, M121.

11 . Cf. Jāmāspīg 2 hamgōhr ped xᵛēš gōhr hamēstār nē, bē abzāyēnīdār ud nirōg-iz-dādār bavend. ēdōn cōn āb ka ō āb rased, ud vād ka ō vād rased, ud ātaš ka ō ātaš rased, hamgōhrīh rāy ēk didīgar rāy abzāyišn kuned . ēd rāy cē judgōhr hend, rōšnīh ka ō tārīkīh, hubōyīh ka ō gennagīh, garmīh ka ō sardīh, ud huškīh ka ō tarrīh rased, nirfsišn ud kāhišn kuned.

12 . ristagān (rastagą: संवासिनां). Pers. ristag ‘humour; element; elementary property’. The four “elementary properties” are: hot and wet (Ahuric properties), cold and dry (Daēvic properties). These are the “elements” of the temperaments (āmēzišn ≈ Gr. κρᾶσις, Lat. Complexionem, Arab. مزاج). Cf. Dk iii, M121 cahār ristagān āmēzišn ī zīndagān (≈ Gr. θερμόν, ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, ξηρόν). See 9.14. See also Job of Edessa, Book of Treasures, I, 1:

ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ ... ܦܫܝܛܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܚܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܘܩܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܪܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܘܝܒܝܫܘܬܐ.

13 . Here is the scheme :

Bodies become disturbed and disabled, owing to their combat, one with the other. Of water and fire, as regards their substance, no harm whatever does appear. But the cold that is closely related to[14] the moisture, is mingled with the moisture of water, and is an opponent of the heat in fire; and the dryness that is related to the heat, is mingled with the heat of fire is opponently harmful to the moisture in water.

3

§ 1-3. As for that which he asked: “Why did Ahura Mazdā the creator not prevent Aṇgra Mainyu from doing and wanting evil, when He is able to do[15] so? For if we say He is not able, that would mean that He is not perfect, and even He is feeble”.

4-15 The answer is this: The evil actions of Angra Mainyu come from the evil substance and evil will which are always his, as the Lie. The omnipotence of Ahura Mazdā the creator is

garmīh	hamēstār	*sardīh*
brādrod	nē-hambidīg	brādrod
huškīh	hamēstār	*x^vēdīh*

[14] . brādrodīg (brādarōdī: ब्रादरोदस्य) . Pers. brād(a)rod means ‘like a brother’, but in this passage it is used to denote a ‘false’ brother. Pers. brādrodīh ‘relation, connexio’; brādrodīg ‘connected, related’ ≈ Syr. ܐܚܝܢܐ ‘relation, connection; related, similar’ from ܐܚܐ ‘brother’.

[15] . tuvān-kirdār (tvą kardār: शक्तः कर्त्ता) ≈ Fars. توانکن.

limited to all that which is possible.[16] The question of knowing whether or not one is able or unable to do[17] that which is not possible does not make sense. Whoever says so, is not within the limits[18] of rational discourse[19]. For he who says first “it is impossible”, and next “God is able to do it”, then by that removes its impossibility, because now it is not impossible but possible. As His ability is limited[20], so is His will[21]. For He is

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[16] . šāyed būdan. Pers. šāyed(-būd) ‘possible’ ≈ Gr. δυνατόν, Syr. ܡܫܟܚܢܐ, Arab. ممكن. Pers. nē šāyed (būdan) ≈ Gr. οὐ δυνατόν, Syr. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܢܐ, Arab. لاممكن. Pers. būdan-nē-šāyistan ≈ Gr. τὸ ἀδύνατον, Syr. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܢܘܬܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 199 ēn-z pēdāgīh ka tuvān harv andar šāyed parvann, Dk iv, M 418 šāyed-būd kanāragumand ayāb nē ? ud tuvān-dānāgīh and-cand šāyed-būd ayāb frāy ? ud ēk ō did parvannāg ayāb nē ? ud agar šāyed-būd nē kanāragumand, hān ī nē-šāyed-būd x^{v}ānend cē, ud cē vimand ud tuvān, cē hān ī šāyed-būd ? RP 62.14 šāyed-būd kirdan.

[17] . tuvān atuvān (tvą atvą: शक्तोऽशक्तो). Pers. tuvān ‘power; probable’ (it renders Av. zastavaṯ) ≈ Gr. ἐνδεχόμενον, Syr. ܡܬܡܨܝܢܐ (ܡܨܝܢ Ps 129.3), Arab. قدرة ، محتمل (δύναμις). Pers. a-tuvān, nē-tuvān ‘not probable, improbable’ ≈ Gr. οὐκ ἐνδεχόμενον, Syr. ܠܐ ܡܬܡܨܝܢܐ, Arab. لامحتمل. Pers. tuvān-abzārīh ≈ Syr. ܡܬܡܨܝܢܘܬ ܚܝܠ. Cf. Dk iv cē vimand ī tuvān, cē hān ī šāyed-būd ?

[18] . vimand (vīmaṇd: सीमायाः). Pers. vimand ‘border; definition’ (Parth. wimand wistambag ‘border rebel’), sāmān (Parth. sahmān) ≈ Gr. ὅρος, ὁρισμός, Syr. ܬܚܘܡܐ, Arab. حدّ; Pers. vimandīg ‘bounded, definite’ ≈ Gr. ὁριστικός.

[19] . soxan-šnāsīh (saxunšnāsī: वचसो ज्ञानी). Pers. soxanšnāsīh ≈ Gr. ἡ διαλεκτική. [Pers. gōbāgīh ≈ Gr. ἡ λογική, Syr. ܡܠܠܝܬܐ] Pers. soxanšnās translates Av. uxδa-šnan- adj. ‘who knows (how to interpret) the statements (of the law)’. Pers. soxanšnās ‘who know how to speak’, Fars.سخنشناس ‘well-versed in literature’, cf. VZ 31.1 ped vēšgīrišnīh ī gētīg zōr soxanšnās baved ud frāzraftār.

[20] . tuvān sāmānumand (tvą sāmąnmaṇd: शक्तः सीमावान्). Pers. tuvān-sāmān ‘in proportion to one’s capacity’ (cf. šāyed-sāmān), cf. Dk iv, M431. Pers.

wise[22]; and the will of the wise is [confined] to that which is possible, and his will does not encroach on what is impossible; because he only wills all that which is possible and contingent[23].

16-28. If we say that "Ahura Mazdā the creator is able to prevent Angra Mainyu from the evil which is his constant substance", then we might as well say that it is possible to change the demonic substance into the divine, and the divine to the demonic; and that it is possible to make darkness light and light darkness. Those who speak of the changing of a substance from its essence [into another] are not physicists[24] i.e. those who

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tuvān-sāmānīhā 'to the best of one's ability' ≈ Arab. مع إمكان القدرة. Cf. MX 31.12 ; REA, 5.14, NS 6. Sad-dar B 22 «اگر توان سامانها به گویند»

[21] . kām (kām: कामः). Pers. kām 'desire; will' (rendering Av. vasah-) [cf. also FO 19 cakana: kāmag] ≈ Gr. προαίρεσις, Syr. ܨܒܝܢܐ, Arab. إرادة. Cf. MX 2.28 kām ud kunišn ī mardōmān … kāmag ī yazdān.

[22] . frazānag (faržąnaa: निरव्वाणज्ञस्य). Pers. frazānag 'wise, sagacious, learned' (Parth.), Pers. dānāg 'id.' ≈ Gr. φιλόσοφος, Skt. ज्ञ, cf. Dk iv, M 429 ērān hamē peymān stāyed, frāybūd abēbūd nikōhed. ped hrōm fīlāsōfā, ud ped hindūgān dānāg, ud ped abārīg gyāg šnāsag hān abērdar stāyīd kē gōbišn-nizūmānīh azišān pēdāgīhist, frazānagān ī ērānšahr pessannīd ēstād.. Pers. frazānagīh (rendering Av. masti) ≈ Gr. πρόνησις, Arab. الحكمة.

[23] . sazed būdan (sažəṯ būdan: संयुज्यते भवितुं). Pers. sazed būdan 'it is proper/ convenient' ≈ Syr. ܘܳܠܶܐ ܠ, nē sazed būdan 'it is not proper' ≈ Syr. ܠܐ ܘܳܠܶܐ ܠ. Cf. Dk iii, M95 hān ī vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed-būd hān ī sazed būdan … hān ī nē vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed-būd hān ī nē sazed.

[24] . gōhr-nē-šnāsān (gōhar nəšnāsą: रत्नस्य अज्ञातारो). Pers. gōhršnās 'physicist; expert in jewellery', gōhrag-dānāg (DD 90.3) ≈ Gr. φυσικός. «گوهری ... جواهرشناس را هم گفته اند». (برهان قاطع) «گوهری ... به معنی ... گوهرشناس نیز آمده». (فرهنگ جعفری)

cannot discern substance[25] in action[26] and accidents[27], and count wolf (and) monster as beneficent. Since the calamity and evil which arise from man and cattle are not substantially their own, but are owing to the corruption[28], deception, delusion of the Lie, and owing to the evil of other demons such as Revenge (or, Crime)[29], Wrath[30] and Lust[31] which are mingled with man. Just as taking a bitter medicine, which is mingled with poison, is not for the maintaining of well-being, but for the removal of the pain and sickness which are owing to an extraneous substance[32]. [Another] example: a true statement and a false statement. Sometimes, a righteous man is saved from much calamity by a false statement and is condemned by a true statement. That

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25 . gōhr (gōhar : रत्नस्य). Pers. gōhr 'jewel, stock, substance' (opp. jadišn) ≈ Gr. οὐσία, Syr. ܐܘܣܝܐ : ܐܝܬܘܬܐ, Arab. العين، الجوهر. Cf. Dk iv, M 412 gōhr ud jahišn, Dk vi, M 495 gōhr … frahang.

26 . andar kunišn (aṇdar kunišni : अंतः कर्म्मणि) ≈ Gr. ἐνεργείᾳ, Syr. ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ, Arab. بالفعل.

27 . jadišn or jahišn (gadašni: चलन). Pers. jadišn 'chance ; accident' ≈ Gr. συμβεβηκός, Syr. ܓܕܫܐ, Arab. العرض. ŠGV 12.79 vihirišn ī jadišn, cf. Dk iii, M 161 vihirišn ī jadagān. Pers. jahišn ī nēk (ŠnŠ 19.10) ≈ jadag ī nēk (AV 0)

28 . See 9.15.

29 . kēn (xīn/ var. kīn: द्वेषश्च). Pers. kēn 'revenge' (Av. kaēnā- 'atonement (for a crime); revenge for someone') ≈ Gr. ποινή. Pers. kēn also translates Av. aēnah- 'crime, sin'. In this case, we should read xēn.

30 . xēšm (xašm: क्रोधश्च). Pers. (x)ēšm 'wrath' (Av. aēšma- 'wrath, fury, cruelty') ≈ Gr. οἶμα. Cf. HAM 8 xēšm ud kēn.

31 . varan (varun: कामश्च). Pers. varan 'desire, lust'. Av. varəna-/ varana- 'preference, choice' is translated by Pers. kāmag 'will, desire'. Cf. Dk vi, M477 varan ud xēšm.

32 . bē-gōhr (bə gōhar: विभिन्नरत्नात्). Pers. bē-gōhr; ant. x^vad-gōhr, cf. Dk iii, M21 vattarīh gennāg-mēnōg$_{īg}$ ped rasišn ī az bē-gōhr.

benefit does not come, mostly, from the lying, but from the removal of the hostility and evil which are mingled with the evil ones, and that calamity is not from the veracity, but from the evil which is mingled with the evil ones.

29-37. Considering that the opponents have been constituted in order to repel each one its own contrary, each one is [only] capable to keep away that which is its own opponent, such as light darkness, fragrance stench, good-deed evil-doing, erudition ignorance. The light is not capable to keep away stench, nor the fragrance darkness, but they have been constituted in order to keep away each of them its own opponent. As for that which they say:

"In the dark night a righteous man is saved from the lion, wolves, dogs and robbers, while in the light day he is captured by them".

It is not proper to consider that as a benefit owing to darkness, nor yet as a calamity owing to light. Because light is created to repel darkness, not to keep away the lion, wolf and monsters and many others alike.

38-39. On account of tediousness, I contented myself to explain succinctly. You, the successful, may your appreciation of benefit be such that you may obtain much from Religion.

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1-6. And as for that which he asked: "We always observe that everything is generated from the celestial sphere[33] and stars[34], then He who created this sphere is the same that, the Believers claim that 'He created Good and Evil'. If Angra Mainyu created, how was he able to create these wonder things? For there are stars by which, and with accordance with them, benefit is bestowed. If Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu created in consultation with each other, then so it is obvious that, Ahura Mazdā is an accomplice and partner, with Angra Mainyu, in the sin and evil which arise from the celestial sphere".

7-15. The answer is this: The celestial sphere is the place of gods (= luminaries)[35] who bestow benefits, and every bestowal

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[33] . spihr (spihir: चक्रात्). Pers. spihr '(celestial) sphere; fate'(< *spiθra-, cf. Σπιθρα-δάτης a personal name, OPers. *spiça-; Skt. श्वित्र-), gird-asmān ≈ Gr. σφαῖρα > Parth.- Pers. (Man.) 'spyr.

[34] . stāragān (stāragą: तारकाभ्यश्च). Pers. ^{e}stārag 'star' = star/ stār (Av. star-m., stārō nom./3), Ideogram: kwkb' (Akkad. kakkabu, Aramaic , כּוֹכַבְתָּא כּוֹכְבָא), cf. Frahang ī Pahlavīg, 1: وومسلوا:واورسـ . Cf. VZ 30.1 gōydēs asmānīg spihr ī gardišnīg, Dk iii, M278 ruvāncihr θβāš ī rah-iz ī ped gēhānīg ēvāz spihr-s x^{v}ānīhed. Cf. also "از روایت دستور برزوجی"

«در کتاب بندهشن چنین گفته است که: هر چه به مردم رسد از سبب هفت کوکب و دوازده برج می رسد».

[35] . bayān or bān (bayą: दातॄणां). Pers. bay 'god; Majesty; luminary' (< *baga-. Av. baga-/ baγa-, Skt. bhága- 'lord, patron'. Av. baγa is sometimes

of benefits by them is done always justly. The seven planets[36] are star-form witches[37] who roam about beneath them (luminaries), rob[38] and distribute amiss, whose scriptural name is Robber[39]. Ahura Mazdā the creator prepared, skilfully and sagaciously, these creatures, with the idea of conveying them to the eschatological Renovation[40]. When the Harmful Spirit winded in the sky, that demon, ignorantly and hypocritically, together with the various sinful demons, who are those of a gloomy seed, encircled the Light and mingled with it, expecting that: “I either will annihilate these creatures of Ahura Mazdā, or may take possession of them”. The luminaries[41], the supreme among the good, were aware, thanks to their omniscience, of the absurd action and hypocrisy of that Demon, and of this too that,

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translated by baxtār ‘dispenser, distributor’). Cf. KKZ bayān gāh, Dk iii, M 205 bayān baxtārīh, M278 rah-ravišn rōšn bayān. See 9.17.

36 . haftān ‘the seven, planets’(haftą: सप्त) ≈ Gr. πλάνητες, Syr. ܦܠܢܝ̈ܛܐ, ܫܒܥܐ, ܫܒܥܐ ܟܘ̈ܟܒܐ. Cf. Bd. haftān ud dvāzdahān (dvāzdahān ‘the twelve, the zodiac’), KAP 3.4 cē hamē vēned ped tis ī haftān ud dvāzdahān?

37 . starkirbān perīgān ‘star-form witches’ (star-karfą faryą: ताराकलेवराः दुष्टग्रहाः). Pers. perīg < Av. pairikā- f. ‘demoness; witch, sorceress’. Cf. Jāmāspīg iv u-š haft perīg kē ped starkirbīh ravend …

38 . appurdārān (apurdārą: अपहर्त्तारो). Pers. appurdār ‘robber; planet’, cf. Dk iii, 205 appurdārān kē hend abāxtarān.

39 . gayōgān (gadūgą:). Pers. gay(ag)/ gayōg ‘robber, bandit; planet’ (< Av. gaδa-), cf. VZ 32.4 rāhdārān ud gayagān; opp. bay, cf. Dk iii, M 278 azēr-rah-ravišn-bayān pešān kārīh pedyāragīh, dvārāg gayōg ī abāxtar-z x^vānīhed. Pers. gayōgīg, opp. bayīg, cf. Dk iii, M 279.

40 . frašegird (frašōkard: अक्षयकृतेः ‘making undecaying’). See 1.28.

41 . rōšnān (rōšaną: रोचिष्मंतः). Pers. rōšn ‘light; luminary’ (opp. Av. təmå) = Av. raoxšna- adj. ‘light’; rōšnān ‘lights; luminaries’ (Av. raocå). Cf. Cim ī kustīg 42 vahišt gāh ī rōšnān, ^{T}M 1208. Man. rōšnān x^vārist ‘Friend of Lights’ ≈ Syr. ܚܒܝܒ ܢܘ̈ܗܪܐ, Arab. حبيب الانوار.

to what extent is this power of his, from which the absurd action and harmfulness come out, so that, henceforth, no power remains for his restoration from the complete perception[42] of bondage and pain, and winding inside the sky.

16-20. When this Demon encircled and winded round the Light, then [Ahura Mazdā], sagaciously, for the purpose of not allowing the forces and organs [of the Demon], that is, the whole sinful demons, to fulfil their proper will, some of these demons are mingled with the realm[43] of the luminaries, such as the demonic poison pertaining to monsters which is clad with the four divine elements[44]. For if this demonic poison pertaining to monsters had not been winded in the four divine corporeal elements, that is water and fire and clay (/ earth) and wind[45], then they would have come to the immaterial sky. If they had

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[42] . mārdārīh (māladārī: मार्ज्जनात्). Pers. mārdār 'sentient; an organ of sense'. Cf. 1.9. mārdārīh ≈ Gr. αἴσθησις, Syr. ܪܓܫ ܪܓܫܘܬܐ.

[43] . stī (stī: पंक्तिश्च). Pers. stī (Av. sti-) 'realm; entity; individual self' ≈ Gr. ὑπόστασις, Syr. ܩܢܘܡܐ; Pers. ped stī 'in person' ≈ Syr. ܒܩܢܘܡܐ. Pers. stī ī rōšnān, cf. Dk iii, M 18 rōšn stī ō tār stī vaštan nē šāyed.

[44] . cahār zahagān (cihār zahagą: चतुर्भिः संभूतिभिः). Pers. zahag 'birth, begetting; progenitor; element' (Av. ząθa) ≈ Gr. στοιχεῖον (Syr. ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ from στοῖχος), cf. Dk iv, M 416 tōhmag zahag. Pers. cahār zahagān ≈ Syr. ܐܪܒܥ ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ, ܐܣܛܘܟܣ̈ܐ ܐܪ̈ܒܥܐ ; الأسطقسات اربع, الامهات الاربع. Cf. Dk iii, M170 cahār zahagān ī gēhān (Syr. ܐܣܛܘܟܣ̈ܘܗܝ ܕܥܠܡܐ, Arab. عناصر العالم). See 9.15.

[45] . āb ud ātaš ud gil ud vād (āβ u ātaš u gil u vāt̰: जलं ज्वलनश्च मृत्तिकाच पवनश्च). Pers. āb ≈ Gr. ὕδωρ, Syr. ܡ̈ܝܐ. Pers. ātaš ≈ Gr. πῦρ, ܢܘܪܐ. Pers. gil ≈ Gr. γῆ, Syr. ܐܪܥܐ. Pers. vād ≈ Gr. ἀήρ, Syr. ܐܐܪ. Cf. Dk iii, M121 u-š dēsag ī fradum būdag ī ped dādār peymāngārīh az bavišn. u-š dēnīg nām bavišnravišnīh, u-š nāmcišt cahār zahagān ī hend vād ud ātaš ud āb ud gil, bun gētīgān cihr.

attained to immateriality and incorporeality, then it would have not been possible for the creatures of Ahura Mazdā to protect and escape from the demonic poison of theirs, and it would be so mingled [with the creature] in the pledge and detention that the establishing and bearing, increase and growth of mankind would not be possible.

21-27. Likewise also the planets[46] are clad with light, as the demonic poison of the monsters in the realm of the luminaries. On account of that, too, the existence of a certain advantage is manifest from the serpent species that are poison-melting, and from the other wild animals and monsters, so also some benefit is manifested from the planets, on account of their commingling below the radius[47] of the luminaries. By analogy, these planets

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46 . abāxtarān (aβāxtarą: दुष्टग्रहान), gayōgān. Pers. abāxtar (< *upāxtar), Sogd. pxryy/ pnxry ≈ Gr. πλάνητες (Gr. πλάνης ≈ Arab. متحيّر), Syr. ܟܘܟܒܐ ܛܥܝܐ, Armen. apaxtar ‘foretelling by the table of planets’. Cf. HKR 14 pez tis ī stāragān ud abāxtarān, VZ 2.18 tārān abāxtarān, MX 38.5 apparišn ī haft abāxtar.

47 . azēr-brāhīh ī rōšnān (ažə̄r brihī i rōšaną: अधो रोचिषो रोचिष्मतां). West: ‘the inferior splendour …’, Menasce: ‘sous l’influence …’, Degener: ‘unter dem Glanz der Lichter’. Cf. 4.46 azēr brāh ī do rōšnān (ažə̄r brih i du rōšaną: अधो रोचिषो द्वयोः रोचिष्मतोः), 4.47 azēr brāh ī mihr (ažə̄r brih i mihir: अधः तेजसा सूर्यस्य), Degener: ‘unter dem Fahrzeug (*rah*) der Sonne’. D.N. MacKenzie imagined that the Pazand word brih (Skt. rocis) in the ŠGV “may be no more than a misreading or ‘correction’ of the lhy of the GB(undahišn)”. “Zoroastrian Astrology in the Bundahišn”, BSOAS, 1964, (511-29), 516. But azēr-brāh(īh) corresponds to Arab. تحت الشعاع ‘under the rays’. See Bērōnī :

that bestow benefit, are like the brigands and highwaymen who cut off the way of the caravan of merchants, steal many important things, and bestow and give them, not to the dutiful and worthy, but to the sinner, undutiful, harlot, prostitute and unworthy.[48]

28-38. The benevolence which astrologers[49] attribute and state (that they come) from the planets, is for this reason that, they have not discriminated the quality[50] of the gods (/ luminaries) who bestow benefit, and that of the five divine (/ Ahuric) fixed stars –which are the Highest Peg which is a

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«چون کواکب علوی از حدّ تصمیم بیرون آیند و سفلیان هم ولکن به میان رجوع، ایشان را همه محترق ای سوخته نام کنند تا دوری از آفتاب شش درجه شود و آن گه سوختگی از وی برخیزد و تحت الشعاع نام کنند.» بیرونی، التفهیم، تهران، ۱۳۵۳، ۴۶۱.

See also:

ح. تقیزاده: گاهشماری در ایران قدیم، تهران، ۱۳۱۶، ۳۳۸ : زیربراذ: تحت الشعاع یا احتراق.

For brāh, cf. KAP, 4.6 māh … azēr brāh ī mihr ēsted ‘The Moon … stands below the radius of the Sun’. For rah, cf. ^{T}T III 260 gird-asmān ēv, ped axtarān ud estāragān, ud rah do ī x^var ud māh ‘And one celestial sphere with the signs of the zodiac and the stars, and two chariots, that of the sun and that of the moon’, ēg ohrmezdbay … az rah ī māh yazd āxēzed, ud ō rah ī x^varšēd adīhed ‘The God Ohrmazd rises from the chariot of the Moon God and comes up to the chariot of the Sun’, Bd 53 azēr x^varšēd … ō rah ī x^varšēd ‘beneath the sun, [bound] to the chariot of the sun’.

48 . Cf. MX 12.7-10, 24.9.

49 . starhangārān (staraṇgārą: तारागणकाः). Pers. star-hangār ‘star-observer’, cf. NM II.2.9. Pers. starušmār ‘star-reckoner’ (Dk iv, M420)/ axtarmār ≈ Syr. ܚܙܐ ܟܘܟܒܐ. Pers. star-gōbišn (Dk iv, M 412) ≈ Gr. ἀστρολόγος, Syr. ܡܡܠܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ. Cf. DD 68 hangārag ī axtarmārān.

50 . cōnīh/ cīyōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थत्वं) ≈ Skt. गुण-, Gr. ποιόν, ποιότης, Lat. qualitas, Syr. ܐܝܟܢܝܘܬܐ, ܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ, Arab. الکیفیّة. Cf. Dk iv, M 414 cōnīh ī dahišn.

measuring-mark (= Polaris)[51], the stars Haptō.iriṇga established by Mazdā (= Ursa Maior)[52], Vanant[53], Satavaēsa[54] and Tištrya[55]

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[51] . mēx ī bālistīg ī handāzišnīg (məh i bālistī i aṇdāžašnī: महत्यः उच्चैस्तराः दृश्यतराः), mēx ī gāh. West: ‘the great one that is supreme and measurable’, Menasce: ‘la Grande au plus haut du ciel, le repère’, Degener: ‘der Polarstern, nach welchem gemessen wird’. Pers. mēx ‘peg, nail’ [Opers. mayuxa- m., Skt. mayū́kha- m. ‘a kind of peg; a ray of light; flame’] ≈ Av. mərəzu-, Arab. الميخ (= المسمار): « Le clou (الميخ), l’Étoile polaire et le pôle sont comme un alif (ا) horizontaux [ou] verticaux, mais jamais obliques. On appelle celui-là le Clou ou le Vis du Gāh parce qu’il cloue l’étoile polaire au pôle ». (ms. 2292 du fonds arabe de la BNF, au folio 94 verso, 1.1-2) G. Ferrand, *Introduction à l’astronomie nautique arabe*, Paris, 1928, 163. «الميخ (‘le clou’) est Piazzi O^h220 = $Hevel_{43}$ Cephei = $_2$Ursae minoris = N°249 de Ambronn. … L’étoile que de Saussure avait inexactement identifié au 122 de Piazzi, est appelée Clou dans les Instruments nautiques des arabes ». G. Ferrand, “Iranica”, *Oriental Studies in honour of C.E. Pavry*, Oxford U.P., 1933, (123-26), 125.

Pers. bālist ‘highest; height; exaltation’ [Av. barəzišta- (adj.) ‘highest, most elevated’; barəzəman- ‘elevation, elevated thing’] ≈ Gr. ὕψωμα, Arab. شرف. Cf. KAP 3.5 stārag ī ohrmazd abāz <ō> bālist āmad ‘The star Jupiter has again come to (its) exaltation’. bālistīg ‘highest; in exaltation’, cf. Bd 193 ohrmazd bālistīg, ahrmen zufāyīg.

Pers. handāz- ‘to reckon; measure; cast; happen’. handāz ‘incident; comaprison’ cf. 11.40 ped handāz ‘by chance’, Dk vi, M 521 az handāz ī ‘by comaprison with’. handāzag ‘analogous; comparison; measuring’, ped handāzag ‘by comaprison’, Cf. X^{v}ārazmī (مفاتيح العلوم) اندازه با اخترماری باید. handāzišn ‘happening; evaluation; throwing; measuring’, cf. Dk vi, M570 handāzišn ōn būd kū … ‘It so happened that’, Dk iv, M 417 handāzišn ī vēnišnīg andarvāyīgān, Dk viii, M 735 nigerišn ud handāzišn. handāzišnīg ‘incidental; measuring-mark’, cf. VZ 1.3 handāzišnīg ul ō abar āmad ‘then, incidentally, he came up’. Neryōsang reads aṇdāžašnī, which he understands to mean ‘very visible’.

[52] . haftōring mazdadād . Av. haptō.iriṇga-, cf. Sr 1.13 aoe (ave Yt 12.28) stārō yōi haptō.iriṇga mazdaδāta x^{v}arənaŋ^{v}haṇta baēšazya ‘to the stars which

– from the quality of the robbers (= the wandering celestial bodies) who distribute calamity, and that of the five planets which roam about beneath them, in the form of stars[56], and are clad with light, that is Saturn[57], Jupiter[58], Mars[59], Venus[60] and

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are haptō.iriṇga, established by (Ahura) Mazdā, the fortunate (and) healing'. Cf. also Bērōnī:

«به پارسی هفتورنگ و به تازی بنات النعش بزرگ». بیرونی، التفهیم، تهران، (۱۳۱۸) ۱۳۶۷، ۱۰۱.

[53] . vanand. Av. vanaṇt- . Cf. Yt. 21.1 vanaṇtəm stārəm mazdaδātəm 'the star Vanand established by Mazdā', RP 18b ēn-z pēdāg kū cōn byaspānān ˣrasišn ō vanand, yazdān-z rasišn ō mān ī ātaš ī varhrān 'This also is revealed: Just as the arrival of the (royal) envoys is (thanks) to Vanaṇt, so also is the arrival of the Yazata (thanks) to the dwelling of the Victorious Fire.' For the couple of Vanaṇt and Haptō.iriṇga, see Yt. 8.12.

[54] . sadvēs. Cf. Yt. 8.0 satavaēsahe frāpahe sūrahe mazdaδātahe xšnaoθra 'for the satisfaction of Satavaēsa '[the star] who follows the [celestial] river, the strong [star] established by Mazdā'. The Manichaeans identified Satavaēsa with the Virgin of Light (kenīg-rōšn, ܒܬܘܠܬ ܢܘܗܪܐ).

[55] . tištar. Av. tištrya- (m.), cf. Yt. 8.2 tištrīm stārəm raēvaṇtəm xᵛarənaŋᵛhaṇtəm 'the star Tištrya endowed with wealth and fortune'. Sogd. tyš /tiš/ 'the thirteenth day of the month'. Skt. tiṣyà- (m.) ≈ the asterism [illegible].

[56] . ped starkirbīh (pa starkarfī: तारकाकलेवरतया). Cf. Jāmāspīg 4 haft perīg kē ped starkirbīh ravend, azēr stāragān ō stāragān kuxšend 'The seven witches who move, in the form of stars, beneath the [divine] stars, and strive towards the [divine] stars'.

[57] . kēvān (kaevąn: शनैश्चर). Pers. kēvān 'Saturn' < Akkad. kajjamānu 'constant, normal; Saturn' ≈ Heb. כִּיּוּן, Syr. ܟܐܘܢ. ܩܪܘܢܘܣ, Arab. زحل. Its scriptural name was dūrpedyārag (from a forgotten Avestan word, *dūraē-paityāra-), cf. Dk iii, M205 hān ī abāxtar ī starušmārān kēvān xᵛānend, u-š dēnīg nām dūrpedyārag. But, its popular name was Zurvān 'time' (Armen. զրուան, according to Anania Shirakatzi) ≈ Skt. [1]kāla 'a black colour; the planet Saturn'; [2]kāla 'time'.

[58] . ohrmazd (avarmazd: बृहस्पति). Pers. ohrmazd 'Jupiter' ≈ Syr. ܗܘ. ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܒܝܠ, Arab. مشتري.

Mercury[61]. For, opposed to the Highest Peg is Saturn[62]; opposed to Haptō.iringa established by Mazdā is Jupiter; opposed to Vanant -the-smiter-of-monsters[63] is Mars; opposed to the star Satavaēsa is Venus; and opposed to the star Tištrya is the planetary Mercury. The benefit which [the astrologers] claim comes from those robbers (planetary bodies)[64], comes in fact from those five divine stars, as they obtain much strength, little damage and victory.

39-45. The creator Ahura Mazdā in order not to abandon these five planets to their own will, bound each of them to the sun and moon[65] with two ropes[66], hence their progression and

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59 . vahrām (bahirām: मंगल). Pers. vahrām 'Mars' ≈ Syr. ܢܪܝܓ. ܐܪܝܣ, Arab. مرّيخ.

60 . anāhīd (anāhīṯ: शुक्र). Pers. anāhid 'Venus' ≈ Syr. ܟܘܟܒܬܐ ܐܠܗܬܐ ܘܐܦ ܐܦܪܘܕܝܛܝ، ܘܒܠܬܝ، ܘܢܘܗܕܬ، ܘܟܘܟܒ ܗܘ ܠܐ, Arab. زهرة.

61 . tīr (tīr: बुध). Pers. tīr 'Mercury' ≈ Syr. ܢܒܘ. ܗܪܡܝܣ, Arab. عطارد.

62 . cōn stārag ī bālistīg mēx pedīrag kēvān (cuṇ stāraa i bālistī məh i aβāxtarī padīr haftōiriṇg padīraa kaevaṇ : यथा तारकाः उच्चैस्तराः महत्यः अवाख्तरिणां प्रतीपः हफ्तोइरिंगः प्रतीपः शनैश्चरस्य). i aβāxtarī padīr haftōiriṇg is additional (copyist's error) and should be removed. But West translates it: 'of the north-opposing Haptôiring', Menasce: 'le dragon planétaire (Gōcihr)', Degener: 'der nördliche Pflock'.

63 . vanand ī xrafstar-zadār (vanaṇd i xaraβastar zadār: वनंतश्च क्षुद्रजंतुहंता). Cf. Yt. 21.

64 . Cf. MX 38.5 apparišn ī hān haft abāxtar.

65 . mihr ud māh (mihir u māh: सूर्ये चंद्रेच) ≈ x^var ud māh. Cf. MX 12.7. See also NM II.2.9 ēstišn … ī mihr ud māh.

66 . ped do zīg (pa du jīk: द्वाभां रज्जुभ्यां, Skt. rajju 'rope, cord, string, line'). Pers. zīg 'tow-line ; rope, thread; the set of astronomical tables' ≈ Syr. ܙܝܓ (ܠܥܘܪܬܐ), Arab. زيج , زيق , رباط . Cf. Dk iii, M 403 zīg ī axtarān, NM II.2.9-11 zīg

retrogression[67]. The length[68] of the rope of some is longer[69], such as Saturn and Jupiter, and that of some others is shorter[70], such as Mercury and Venus.[71] Whenever they go to the end of the rope then they are pulled back, they are not permitted to go according to their own will, so that they may not damage the creatures.[72]

ī šahriyārān. Pers. bann (ī mēnōgīg), Skt. vāta-raśmi 'bonds of wind'. Zādsprahm states that the benefit of Jupiter is due to its bondage to the luminaries, cf. VZ 2.21 ohrmazd stārag zīndagīh tar dām nē x^{v}ēšgōhrīhā bē andar bann ī rōšnān būdan rāy. In the Bundahišn it is said that the five planets are tied only to the chariot of the sun (53); and it is also said that all of the stars are tied to the sun and the moon (28). Cf. also the Persian Rivāyāt, II, 62-6, and Bērōnī:

«رأی القدما فی رباطات الکواکب بالشمس و رجوعها ...» تمهید المستقر ...، ۱۶.

[67] . frāzravišnīh (frāžraβəšnī: पुरः प्रवृत्तिः). Pers. frāz-ravišnīh 'forward motion, progression' ≈ Skt. ṛju-gati- , Arab. الاستقامه.

abāzravišnīh (aβāžraβəšnī: पश्चात् व्यावृत्तिः). Pers. abāz-ravišnīh 'backward motion, retrogression' ≈ Skt. viloma-gati-, Arab. الرجوع. [abāz-estādag 'stationary', Arab. مقیم] Cf. Bd. 54.

[68] . drahnāy (drānāe: दैर्घत्वेन).

[69] . drāzdar (drāžtar: दीर्घतरं).

[70] . kehdar (kəhtar: ह्रस्वतरं).

[71] . Cf. Bd 53 … ō ham rah ī x^{v}aršēd ped dagrandīh ud kastagīh bast este(n)d. '[the five planets] are tied to the same chariot of the sun in their elongation and diminution'.

[72] . See B. Lincoln, « Anomaly, Science and Religion : Treatment of the Planets in Medieval Zoroastrianism », *History of Religions*, 48/4, 2009, (270-82), 280.

46-49. Those two demons who are greater in strength, that is the planetary sun and moon[73], move in opposition below the radius[74] of the two luminaries (Sun and Moon)[75]. Another star<-form> robber that is called Mūšperīg[76], is likewise bound below the radius of the sun. When she gets far from bond, and enters into a zodiacal constellation[77], she commits damage and calamity to the quarter which is the proper function of that constellation[78], until it becomes again subject and pledged of the sun.

50-59. The reason given [by the sages] is this:

[73] . mihr ud māh ī abāxtarīg (Bharucha: Is this an allusion to राहु and केत्तु ?). Cf. Bd 52 mihr ud māh temīg [temīg ≈ Skt. chādita- ‘obscured (the moon)’], DD 68 donān gōzihrān ī tār.

[74] . azēr brāh. Cf. 4.23.

[75] . do rōšnān (du rōšaną: द्वयोः रोचिष्मतोः). Pers. donān rōšnān ‘Duo Lumina’, Arab. نيّرين. Cf. ^{T}M1208: donān raheyān rōšnān ‘the two light chariots’.

[76] . mūš-perīg (əž vahī : उत्तमत्वात्) Bharucha’s emendation. Pers. mūš-perīg, Av. mūš … pairikayāi (Y 16.8). Cf. Bd 53 az avēšān abāxtarān mihr ī temīg ud mūš-perīg ped hampeymānagīh azēr x^{v}aršēd, andar gumēzišn ō rah ī x^{v}aršēd, māh ī temīg ō rah ī māh bast ēsted ‘Of those planets the dark sun and Mūš-perīg are tied by the same measure, during the Mixture, beneath the Sun to the chariot of the Sun and the dark moon to the chariot of the Moon’, mūš-perīg dumbumand parrvar jast ‘Muš-perīg was tailed (and) winged’, 188 mūš-perīg ī dumbumand.

[77] . axtar (axtar: नक्षत्र). Pers. axtar ‘(fixed) star; constellation; sign of the zodiac’; opp. abāxtar ‘planet’, cf. Bd 54 u-šān abāxtarān-nāmīh ēd kū nē axtar hend ‘Their being named abāxtar is for this that they are not axtar’. dvāzdah axtar ‘twelve signs of the zodiac’ (MX 12.5) ≈ dvāzdahān, Syr. ܚܠܩܐ. Pers. axtarīg ‘sidereal’ (ŠnŠ 14.5).

[78] . ped kust ī hān kē hān axtar x^{v}ēškārīh. Cf. KAP 3.5 ped kust ī haftōiring, Bd 97 az hān kustag ī star ī haftōiring.

The battle of the superior beings[79] occurs in the star station[80]. Beneath them, there is the battle of Tištrya against the demon Speṇjaγri[81], of the fire Vāzišta (the cloud-fire)[82] against the demon Apaoša[83], and of other good Spirits[84] against gloomy

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[79] . abarīgān (aβarīgą: उपरिष्टानां, Skt. upariṣṭha- ‘staying above’. Pers. abarīgān ≈ Syr. ܥܠܝ̈ܬܐ ‘celestial things’.

[80] . star pāyag (star pāeaa: तारापदे). Cf. Sr 10 (Z) ardvīsūr avinastīh ēd kū-š bunxān ped star pāyag ī rōšn ‘The undefiledness of Anāhitā is this that her source is in the light star station’, RP 65.1 ēn-z az abestāg pēdāg kū: az zamīg dā ō star pāyag <hān ī> hamestagān, ud az star pāyag dā ō x^{v}aršēd pāyag hān ī pahlum oxān, ud az x^{v}aršēd pāyag dā ō asmān hān ī asarrōšnīh, ud garōdmān andar hān ī asarrōšnīh ‘This also is revealed in the Avesta that: from the earth to the star station is Limbo; from the star station to the sun station is the Best Existence; from the sun station to the sky is the Endless Light, and Garōdəmāna is in the Endless Light’.

[81] . spenzagr or spenzaruš (spəṇzagar: स्पेंजग्र). Av. spəṇjaγri- m. (Bharucha: The demon who keeps off the rain from falling). Cf. Vd 19.40 ātrəm vāzištəm … daēum.janəm spəṇjaγrīm ‘the fire Vāzišta the smiter of the Daēva Spəṇjaγri, Bd 50 andar-z abr pāyag spenzaruš ō ātaš ī vāzišt ‘in the cloud station Spəṇjaγri is (opposed) to the fire Vāzišta.’

[82] . ātaš ī vāzišt. Av. vāzišta-, ātrəm vāzištəm, Pers. ātaš ī vāzišt the cloud-fire. Y 17.11 enumerates these five fires: ātrəm bərəzisavaŋhəm, ātrəm vohu.fryānəm, ātrəm urvāzištəm, ātrəm vāzištəm, ātrəm spə̄ništəm.

[83] . apōš/ abōš. Av. apaoša- m. demon of drought. Cf. DD 93 dēv ast apōš nām, ī vizārīhed āb-ōš ‘There is a Daēva Apaoša by name, which is interpreted as “death-of-the-water” ’, Dk iii, M109 apōš dēv ud spenzagr druz ‘the Daēva Apaoša, and the druj Spəṇjaγri’, Bd 50 andar-z abr pāyag spenzaruš ō ātaš ī vāzišt, apoš dēv ō tištar <ud> hamkārān ī ōy ī tištar mad ‘And in the cloud station Spəṇjaγri came to oppose the fire Vāzišta and the Daēva Apaoša to Tištrya and the collaborators of Tištrya’, 64 andar hān vārānkirdārīh espenzaruš ud abōš kuxšīd hend, ātaš vāzišt gaδ abar vašt ud āb tāzēnīd ‘During the making of rain, Spəṇjaγri and Apaoša fought, and the fire Vāzišta turned up its club and caused the water to run’.

[84] . veh mēnōgān (vahə mainyuą: उत्तमानां अदृश्यानां). Cf. Y 48.8 vaŋhə̄uš mainyə̄uš ‘of good spirit’.

ones[85], for the making of rain and allotment of profit to the creatures. Below them, that of man and cattle [against] monsters and felons[86], and of other good creatures against bad ones. Because, accidents are mingled with man, that is: Greed[87], Lust[88], Revenge[89], Wrath[90] and Sleepness[91], Wisdom, Character, Virtue, Science, Recollection and Wit[92], as the yoking together

85 . temīgān. Av. təmah- 'darkness', opp. raocah-; Sogd. tam 'hell'. Cf. T [*Kosmogonische Texte*, 3.3] tamīg dēvān … dēvān ī tamīgān.

86 . mar (mar, MH19, JJ, JE, R mār: नृशंसानां). Pers. mar (opp. mardōm), Av. mairya- '(bad) man; knave'.

87 . āz (āž: लोभ). Pers. āz (ant. hunsandīh, HOD 48), Av. āzi- m. 'concupiscence, greed', āziš daēvō.dātō (Vd 18.19) 'the demon-spawned Āzi', āzōiš daēvō.dātahe (Y 16.8). Cf. Dk ix, M 801 āz ī dēvāndād, MX 2.14 āz dēv, Dk iii, M 65 ped xrad pedīrag varan, ped hunsandīh ī pedīrag āz, ped srōšīgīh pedīrag xēšm, ped dādīgīh pedīrag arešk, ped x^{v}ābarīh pedīrag kēn, M 142 xrad frārōn … varan abārōn, Dk vi, M 477 āz ud arešk ud varan ud xēšm ud nang, CHP 38 āz ped hunsandīh bē zaned, VZ 30.41 āz ud varan ud xēšm ud kēn. In Manichaean doctrine Āz corresponds to Gr. ὕλη, and also to Syr. ܢܒܪܘܐܝܠ. ܢܒܪܘܐܝܠ (Lat. Nebroël). Cf. S 9 āz … kird anād ēn nasāh.

88 . varan (varun: काम). Pers. varan (opp. xrad, Dk vi, M 473) 'craving, lust; cupidity', Av. varəna- m. 'preference, choice; belief' translated by Pers. kāmag. Pers. varan is rendered by Arab. شهوة. Pers. varan abārōn (opp. xrad frārōn), cf. Dk iii, M 142.

89 . kēn (xīn, PB3, MH19, R kīn: द्वेष). Pers. kēn 'revenge, rancour, malice' (opp. x^{v}ābarīh), Av. kaēnā- f. 'revenge (for someone)'. Pers. kēn is rendered by Arab. انتقام.

90 . xēšm (xašm: कोप). Pers. xēšm 'anger, wrath, fury' (opp. vehīh, MX 16.22, vahman, ŠGV 8.128-129, srōšīgīh, Dk iii, M 65, srōš, CHP 38), Av. aēšma- m. 'wrath; the demon Wrath', the opponent of sraoša- 'obedience'. Pers. xēšm is rendered by Arab. غضب.

91 . būšyāsp. Pers. būšyāsp/t 'lethargy; procrastination; (bad) sleep', Av. būšyąstā- f. 'the demoness of indolence'. ped būšāsp 'in (a) dream', cf. AV 111 tis ī ped būšāsp vēned.

92 . See 1.8, 8.113.

with good and the yoking together with evil are called, which are the causes of good deed and sin.

60-62. All the benefit of the creatures come, mostly, from the creator of the creatures, who is Himself the healer and physician[93], the guardian and keeper and nourisher and protector and saviour of His own creatures. He has given to His creatures and taught them all the means of being delivered from calamity, and the instruments of abstaining from crime.

63-72. He is like a wise garden-owner and gardener that pernicious destructive beasts and birds are intent on damaging the garden by spoiling the fruit of the trees, and the wise gardener, for the sake of diminishing his trouble and keeping those pernicious beasts out of his garden, prepares instruments whereby to be able to capture those beasts, like traps, net and bird-grains, so that when the beast sees the bait, and wishes, greedily, to catch it, is captured therein, not knowing of the trap or net. It is obvious that, if the beast falls into the net, this event is not the triumph of the net, but that of the arranger of the net. The beast is captured in the net because the master, garden-owner and arranger of the net knows, sagaciously, that to what extent the beast is strong and for how long. The bodily strength and force of that beast are exhausted by striving [in the net], and

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93 . bizešk ud drusbed (bažašk u drustvaṯ: वैद्यः आरोग्यपतिः). Pers. bizešk/ bišehk ‘physician, doctor’, Av. biši-, °biš-, Skt. bhiṣaj-, Sogd. βēc, Armen. Բժիշկ ≈ Syr. ܐܣܝܐ. Cf. FO 16 bišiš framātō: bizešk ī frāzuzmūdār, Dk iii, M 38 šnāsag bizešk.

Pers. drustbed ‘chief physician; therapist’, cf. Dk iii, M 159 drusbed … bizešk, 161 ērān-drustbed. Syr. ܕܪܘܣܬܒܕ translates Gr. ἀρχίατρος ‘chief physician’ (Syn. Or. 562).

«... جبرائیل درستاباذ لانه کان طبیب کسری ...» کتاب اخبار العلماء بأخبار الحکماء، القفطی، القاهرة، ۹۳.

it becomes infirm in endeavouring, as much as it is able, to destroy the net and rend and demolish the trap. Since its strength is not sufficient, when its power of striving is gone out and it becomes powerless, then the wise gardener, taking successfully possession of his fruits, throws wisely the wounded and powerless beast out of the net, and consigns his net and trap, rearranged and undamaged, back to his storehouse.

73-80. Similar to Ahura Mazdā the creator, the saviour of creations and (re-)arranger of creatures, who makes the principle of Evil disabled, is the gardener who protects his garden from the injurer. The pernicious beast which ruins the garden is similar to Angra Mainyu the accursed who oppresses the creatures and is adverse to the good creation. The trap and net which make disabled the pernicious beast to fulfil its wish are similar to the sky in which good creations dwell, and in which the Harmful Spirit and his abortions[94] are captured. The time of Angra Mainyu and his forces and instruments, for the combat, is similar to the duration of the beast, for the striving in the trap and net, so that its power is exhausted. The salvation of the creatures from adversity, and the establishment of the eternal beatitude, are similar to the rearrangement of the net and trap by that owner of the garden.

81-86. Moreover, the lack of strength and want of courage of the Demon, in his strife against the luminaries, is manifest from this too: When he thought hypocritically thus:

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[94] . višūdagān or guhūdagān (vašūdagą: दुष्टसृष्टि). Pers. višūdag ‘abortion, misborn; spawn’ (opp. zādag), cf. CHP, 50 dā tan ī pasēn gennāg mēnōg ud višūdagān az ēn dām judāg nē bend, ŠnŠ, 13.24 stāyišn ī ohrmazd ud amehrspendān, zanišn ī gennāg mēnōg ud višūdagān, ZVY 3.23 ahrmen ud dēvān ud višūdagān, 7.35 višūdagān ud vattōhmagān.

“Either I will annihilate this sky and earth and the creatures of Ahura Mazdā, or I will change their substance and take possession of them”.

Then, in spite of his fiendish strength[95], desire of hostility, and perpetual combat, as far as possible and in spite of the strife of the devils, there exist the earth and sky and the creatures that are increasing from few to many, as is manifest, and all acknowledge it. For, if in this combat there had not been any triumph, it would have been impossible to come from few to many.

87-101. If it is manifest that the death occurs after the worldly birth, however that death may not be the complete cease of existence, but rather is the movement from place to place, or from act to act. For, it is obvious and manifest that, since the generation[96] of all these creations is from the four elements which [constitute] their material body, they are to be mixed again with the four elements. The Spirits which are all the instruments of the breathing soul and agents within the body, are mingled with the soul, and on account of being of one nature, they do not be disturbed. The soul will be reckoned for its own deeds. The treasurers unto whom are deposited its good and evil deeds arrive for a test. If the treasurer of the good deeds is

[95] . druz-nirōgh. See 1.30.

[96] . bavišn (bvašni: समुत्पत्तिः). Pers. bavišn ‘becoming, coming into existence, genesis, generation’ ≈ Gr. γένεσις, Syr. ܗܘܝܐ, Arab. كون. Ant. vināhišn ≈ Gr. φθορά, Syr. ܚܒܠܐ, Arab. فساد. Cf. Dk iv, M 412 bavišn ud vināhišn. See 9.15.

greater in strength[97], then it is, triumphantly, saved from the hands of the adversity, and it ascends to the great seat and all-blissful luminaries[98], and it is delighted eternally in beatitude.[99] And if the treasurer of the evil deeds[100] is greater in strength, then it is, triumphantly, dragged from the hands of the helper, and it is entrusted to the cleaning-and-washing place, that is, the purifying[101] hospital[102]. There, even those feeble good deeds practised in the material world, are not ineffectual to it. For this

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[97] . ka ganzvar ī kirbag meh-ōz. Pers. ganzvar 'treasurer, ἐπίτροπος' (Skt. गञ्जवर gañjavara, Syr. ܓܙܒܪܐ gzbr'). Cf. DD 23.5 nigāhbed ganzvar ī kirbag, VZ 30.49 nigāhbed ud ganzvar … ī kirbag.

[98] . ō mehgāhīh ud rōšnān ī hāmx^{v}ašīh ahrāmed (महास्थानतां रोचिष्तां सर्व्वसुखतामासादयति). Pers. rōšnān ī hāmx^{v}ašīh ≈ Y 9.19 raocaŋhəm vīspō.x^{v}āθrəm translated by rōšn ī hamāgx^{v}ārīh, Sr I.27 raocaŋhō vīspō.x^{v}āθrō. Cf. NS 4 hān ī pahlum oxān ī ahlavān ī rōšn ī hubōy ī bāmīg ī hamāgx^{v}ārīh, MX 2.145-146 pas fradumm gām ped humat, ud didīgar ped hūxt, ud sidīgar ped hvaršt abar ahrāmed; ud cahārum gām bē ō asarrōšnīh ī hamāgx^{v}ārīh abar rased.

[99] . jāyēdān nēkravišnīhā (jāβadąn nyakraβəšnihā: अनंतकालं शुभप्रवृत्या). Pers. nēkravišnīh translates Av. uštatāt- f. 'state of having one's wishes fulfilled, success', a benediction containing the auspicious word ušta, cf. Vr 18.2 vīspāyūmca uštatātəm: hamāg-āyū nēkravišnīh 'ever lasting state of enjoying oneself'. Cf. also ŠGV 4.80 jāyēdān nēkravišnīh, 11.359 nēkravišnīh ī jāyēdān.

[100] . ganzvar ī bazag. Cf. DD 24.5 nigāhbed ī-š vināh.

[101] . sardgar or yōždāhrgar (dardgar: पीडाकरे). Pers. sardgar 'cold-maker, purifier' (West: 'agoniszing', Menasce: 'qui inflige une douleur'), yōždāhrgar 'purifier', cf. ŠGV, 4.101 yōždārgarān, the Persian Rivāyāt, I, 93-4:

«از دیدن او آبهائی که از دوزخ ناپاک شده باشد، پاکتر و سردتر می شود».

[102] . vēmārestān (vīmārstąn: रोगिणि). Pers. vēmārestān 'hospital' (Arab. مارستان. West 'abode of disease', Menasce: 'lieu de la maladie'), cf. Dk iii, M 38 vēmārestān ī abēāhōg.

reason, the washing and cleaning and punishment are proportionate to the sin, and not arbitrarily. For, [these good deeds practised in the world] protect it from the [arbitrary] infliction of its punishment. Finally, the beneficent creator, who is the forgiver of the creatures, does not leave any good creature in captivity in the hands of the enemy. He saves both, the righteous and even the sinful, through atonement for sin, from the hands of the purifiers, and leads them to the eternal beatitude.

In brief: The creator is the healer and physician, the keeper and nourisher and guardian and saviour of the creature, and not the one who inflicts disease and pain, and punishes his own creatures. This has been more extensively written below [in the chapters] on the proof of Two Principles and against the atheists and monists[103].

104-107. I prepared [this chapter] as you (Mihrayyār) commanded and requested. May you consider it with kind regards. Because, as I have written above, I belong not to the rank of the teachers, but to the rank of the students.[104] I have presented here, these religious teachings which I found, despite my little wisdom, from the books of "Ādarpādyāvandān", and his teachings are extant in the book Dēnkird of the excellent wise Ādarfarrōbay son of Farroxzād, who was the Leader-of-Mazdayasnians[105], and explained out of the knowledge of the religion, [and this book Dēnkird] contains a thousand chapters.

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[103] . See 10.1.

[104] . See 1.44.

[105] . hudēnān pēšobāy 'the leader of those of the good religion', title of the head of all Mazdeans responsible to the Calif (similar to Aram. ריש גלותא 'exilarch'). Cf. Dk M 946: … dēngird nibēg … az peccēn-ē kē andar dēnān

108. As for the unlimitedness and limitedness that you asked, I will write, God willing[106], below.

dēn ast cōn hufravahrān, hudēnān pēšobāyān ī az dūdag ī hufravard ādurbād ī mahrspendān …

106 . ped yazdān kām ≈ Syr. ܒܨܒܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, Arab. انشاء الله.

Second Chapter

5

1. Another chapter: Against the atheists[1], and about the existence of the God[2] and His rival.

§ 2-9. The existence of the God and His rival is a judicious statement according to the science[3] and logic[4] acceptable by wisdom. In brief, you should know this that: the supreme, a priori and most inevitable science is *Scientia divina* (theology)[5]. He, of whom this science is not the leader of science, is helpless by other sciences. Knowing the god is possible through undefiled intelligence, “swift” memory and analytic reason. Because, for knowing the god it is not sufficient to know that the

[1] . nēstyazdgōbān (nəstyazaṯ gōeą: नास्तिकर्तौति). Pers. nēst-yazd-gōb ‘one who asserts the non-existence of the one worthy of worship (Yazata), atheist’ ≈ Gr. ἄθεος, Syr. ܕܠܐ ܐܠܗ.

[2] . Pers. yazd, Av. yazata ‘one worthy of worship, venerable ; divine being’ ≈ Syr. ܐܠܗܐ.

[3] . dānišn (dānašni: परिज्ञेया) ≈ Gr. γνῶσις, Syr. ܝܕܥܬܐ, Arab. علم.

[4] . gōbāgīh (guβāī: ससाक्ष्य). Pers. gōbāgīh ‘faculty of speech; logic’ ≈ Gr. λογικόν, Syr. ܡܠܝܠܘܬܐ, Arab. منطق. We can also read dānišn ī gōbāgīh ≈ Arab. علم المنطق.

[5] . yazd šnāxtan ‘to know the Yazata’ ≈ Gr. θεολογία, Syr. ܡܡܠܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ (ܬܐܘܠܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܡܠܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ).

god exists. Whoever is aware of the existence[6] of such a thing, and is unaware of its qualities[7] – such as that thing is good or bad, erudite or ignorant, antidote or poison, cold and frozen or hot and melting, dry and parching or moist and damp–, his only knowledge of its existence is vain. For, it is possible to praise or blame someone or some thing, not through its existence, but through its qualities.

10-11. You should know this too that: There are three modes of knowing anything:

Knowledge by necessity[8];
Knowledge by syllogism and analogy[9];
[and Knowledge] by possibility[10] and convenience[11].

[6] . astīh (hastī: सत्तया). Pers. astīh ‘existence, being ; reality; substance’ ≈ Gr. οὐσία, Syr. ܐܝܬܘܬܐ, Arab. وجود. Opp. pēdāgīh, cf. 13.74, Dk iv, M 420.

[7] . cōnīh/ cīyōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थत्वात्). Pers. cōnīh ‘quality ; manner, mode; character’ ≈ Gr. ποιότης, Syr. ܐܝܟܢܘܬܐ, Lat. qualitas, Arab. صفة، كيفية. Cf. Dk iii, M 102 abar astīh ud cōnīh ī yazdān ud dēv(ān).

[8] . acārdānišnīh (acārdānašnī: अनुमानज्ञानतया). Pers. acār ‘helpless; inevitable, necessary’, (impers.) ‘it is necessary’ ≈ Gr. ἀναγκαῖον, Syr. ܐܢܢܩܝܬܐ, Lat. necessaries, Arab. واجب. Pers. acār-dānišnīh, cf. Syr. ܡܕ̈ܥܬܐ ܐܢܢܩܝ̈ܬܐ ‘axioms’. Cf. also VZ 29 .9 acārīg-dānišnīh.

[9] . hangōšīdagdānišnīh (aṇgōšīdaadānašnī : दृष्टांतज्ञानतया). Pers. hangōšīdag ‘image, likeness ; (inference by) analogy; allegory ; syllogism’ ≈ Gr. συλλογισμός, Syr. ܣܘܠܘ ܓܝܣܡܘܣ, Arab. قرينة، قياس. ped hangōšīdag ‘through inference by analogy, *per syllogismum*’ (PDK 48).

[10] . šāyed (būdan) (šāyaṯ: शक्नोति). Pers. šāyed ‘possible; it is possible’ (tuvān ‘power; powerful; probable; it is probable’) ≈ Gr. δυνατόν, Syr.

12. Necessary knowledge is such as

$$1 \times 1 = 1,$$
$$2 \times 2 = 4.$$

13-14. For, within the limits of necessity, it is not possible to say that: there was, or there will be a time or a place where twice two are said to be five or three.

15-17. Knowledge by syllogism is that by which is manifested from anything manifest something non-manifest, and convinced by analogy the vision of wisdom, out of anything obvious something obscure, that is through complete comparison, or resemblance, or partial comparison.

18. Complete comparison[12] is such as that of a man of Persis to a man of another province.

19. Resemblance[13] is such as that of cheese to the white of an egg.

ܡܬܡܨܝܢܘܬܐ (ܡܬܡܨܝܐ ‘it is possible’), Arab. ممكن. Cf. Dk iii, M 134 šāyed būd, RP 62.14 amargīh vinārdan ped rāh ī āštīh šāyed-būd kirdan.

[11] . sazed (būdan) (sažəṯ būdan: युज्यते). Pers. sazed ‘proper, convenient; it is convenient/ proper’ is rendered by Skt. yujya ≈ Syr. ܙܕܩ ܠ . Sogd. s’cy-mycy’ ‘what is proper’ renders Syr. ܙܕܩܐ ‘that which is right/ due’. Pers. saz- ≈ Gr. ἀξιόω, Syr. ܙܕܩ ܠ; ped sazed būdan ≈ Gr. ἀξίως, Syr. ܐܝܟ ܕܙܕܩ. Cf. HOD 39 ped hān emēd dāred ī sazed būdan.

[12] . spurrīgmānāgīh (spurī mānāī: पूर्णोपमानेन). Pers. spurrīgmānāgīh is rendered by Skt. pūrṇôpamāna. The four special instruments (Pramāṇa) of valid knowledge are: upamāna, upameya, sādhāraṇa-dharma, and sādṛśya-pratipādaka.

20-26. Partial comparison[14] is such as that of cheese to plaster. For this comes from the definition[15] of partial similitude.

Because cheese is similar to plaster only in whiteness, but it is similar to the white of an egg in whiteness and also as food. Sometimes a resembling is said more resembling, and a partially similar more partially similar. But that which is more-complete-similar is never spoken about, because complete does not become more complete. About this kind, details are enough; and on account of tediousness, [more details] are left aside.

27-30. To show a thing obscure from a thing obvious is such as: from a thing made and kept whose maker and keeper is not present, and from a thing written whose writer is not manifest, are necessarily manifested a maker of that which is made, a keeper of that which is kept, and a writer of that which is written, so that those which are manifest and obvious show those of non-manifest and obscure.

31-35. Information of that which is within the possible and contingent is something believable[16]. For, one who says that “I

[13] . humānāg (humānā: उपमानं). Pers. humānāg ‘resembling, like’ ≈ Gr. ὅμοιος, Syr. ܕܡܐ, Arab. شبيه; humānāgīh ‘resemblance; comparison’, Skt. upamāna ‘comparison, identifying instrument’≈ Gr. ὁμοίωμα, Syr. ܕܡܘܬܐ. See 9.6.

[14] . humānāgbahr (humānābahar: उपमानविभागश्च). Pers. humānāgbahr corresponds to luptôpamā in Indian logic.

[15] . vimand (vīmaṇd: सीमायाः). Pers. vimand ‘limit ; definiton’ (also sāmān) ≈ Gr. ὅρος, Syr. ܬܚܘܡܐ, Arab. حدّ. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 vimand ī tuvān.

[16] . vurravišn (grōišnī: संवित्तिः). Pers. vurravišn ‘belief; faith; doctrine’ ≈ Gr. δόξα, Syr. ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ, Arab. تصديق, cf. Jāmāspīg 16 vas kēš ud dād ud

saw a man who slew a lion, or lion who slew a man”, this may be false[17] within the limits of possibility and contingency. If a man who is renowned for truth and tested in verity announces that information, then it is within the limits of truth[18] and reality. But if a man announces it, who is notorious for falsehood and tested in non-verity, then it is within the limits of falsehood and unreality.

36-45. Another mode, outside these [three modes of knowing], is within the limits of necessarily-non-existent[19] and or impossible[20]. For example, to state: “it is possible to bear the world hidden into an egg”, or “it is possible that an elephant passes into an eye of a needle, so that none of them become greater nor smaller”, or “substance is something without

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vaurravišn. Pers. vurravišnīg ‘believing; dogmatic; believable’ ≈ Arab. مؤمن. Cf. Dk iii, M 95 hān ī vurravišn andar hān ī šāyed būd hān ī sazed būd.

17 · drōv (drōg: अनृतं). Pers. drō$_g$/ drōv‘false; lie, deceit’ ≈ Gr. ψευδές, Syr. ܕܓܠܐ, falsum, Arab. كاذب، باطل (ant. صادق، حقّ). Cf. Jāmāspīg 16 abārōnīh ud drōv, Dk vi, M 559 anast ud drōv.

18 . rāstīh (rāstī: सत्यस्य). Pers. rāst ‘right ; straight’ ≈ Gr. εὐθύς, Syr. ܬܪܝܨܐ, rectus, Arab. مستقيم، مستوي. HOD 13 vurravišn ī rāst (cf. Syr. ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܬܪܝܨܬ ܫܘܒܚܐ). Pers. rāstīh ‘uprightness, rectitude; truth’ ≈ Syr. ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ, ܩܘܫܬܐ. Cf. MX 4.4 rādīh … rāstīh.

19 · acārīg nē būd (acārī nə būṯ: अनुमानस्य नाभूत).

20 · nē šāyed (nə šāyaṯ: नाधिकरोति). Pers. nē šāyed (būd) ‘(it is) not possible; impossible’ ≈ Gr. ἀδύνατον, Syr. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܢܐ, Arab. لاممكن. Pers. nē šāyed baved ≈ Gr. ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν; Syr. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܢܝܬܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 hān ī nē šāyed būd x^{v}ānend cē.

origin[21]" and "[the time of] combat is not limited", and "there is some existing thing[22] which is not temporal[23] nor localised[24]", or "it is localised but not limited (by time)[25]", and "movement[26] is the displacement[27] of the void[28]". [These statements] and others alike, are false[29] and untrue and not worthy to think and say.

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[21] · bun (bun: मूलं). Pers. bun 'base, bottom, origin, fundament' (Av. buna) ≈ Gr. ἀρχή, Syr. ܪܫܐ, Arab. مبدأ، رأس. Cf. Dk viii, M 786 bun … sar, Dk ix, M 794 bun … bar, Dk iii, M 185 bar az bun 'a priori'.

[22] · astag tis (hastaa θis: सत्तास्थं किंचित). Pers. astag tis 'existing thing, entity; *existens, ens'* ≈ Gr. τὸ εἶναι, Syr. ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, Arab. موجود. Cf. Dk vi, M 522 astagīh 'existence'.

[23] . zamānumand (jamąnmaṇd: कालवत). Pers. zamānumand 'temporal, temporary' ≈ Gr. χρονικός, Syr. ܙܒܢܝܐ, ܙܒܢܢܝܐ, Arab. الزمانيّ الأمديّ. Cf. ^{T}M 9 I hamāg anāgīhgumēg ud zamānumand ud kanāragumand ud viderišnīg.

[24] . gyāgumand (jāmaṇd: स्थानवत). Pers. gyāgumand 'local, localised' ≈ Gr. τοπικός, Syr. ܐܬܪܢܝܐ, Arab. متحيّز.

[25] . kanāragumand (kanāraomaṇd: सीमावत). Pers. kanāragumand 'limited, finite' ≈ Gr. ὁριστός, Syr. ܡܬܬܚܡܢܐ, Arab. محدود. Cf. Dk iv M 418 šāyed-būd kanāragumand ayāb nē? Bd 10 zamān ī kanāragumand.

[26] . jumbišn (juṇbašni : अवलंबनं). Pers. jumbišn 'motion, movement, *motus, motio*' ≈ Gr. τὸ κινεῖσθαι, Syr. ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ, motus, Arab. حركة, Gr. κίνησις, Syr. ܙܘܥܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 420 cannišn jumbišn ī tisān.

[27] . vihēzag (afaē: तालिकया). Pers. vihēz(ag) 'displacement; departure' ≈ Syr. ܫܘܢܝܐ. Cf. MX 49.27 vihēzag ī x^{v}aršēd ud māh.

[28] · tuhīg (θihī: आकाशे). Pers. tuhīg 'empty, vain' (rendering Syr. ܣܪܝܩܐ), tuhīgīh 'empty; void; space' ≈ Gr. τὸ κενόν, Cf. Aristotle, Phys., IV.8. Arab. خلأ. Cf. Aog. 60 tuhīgīh ī asmān, Dk iv, M 422 abar tuhīgīh astīh.

[29] · zīfān (zaspą: कुत्सितं). Pers. zīfān from Syr.ܙܝܦܢܐ /zīfānā/ 'false (esp. of teaching); counterfeit, forged (as coin)' (Pers. زيف 'being bad or clipped

46-56. Moreover, the existence of the God who is (spiritual) creator[30], apart from perception and other evidences, and through the necessary and analogical sciences, is as much obvious before the vision of wisdom as: from the partition, constitution and composition of the things which are of many different kinds [is manifested] the constitution of the world and man from those things which are the parts and organs [of the world and man], such as body and [breathing] soul, and the elements from which [body] is composed and constituted; that is, fire, water, wind and earth[31], each of them is so appointed nature[32] and made proper[33] for its own management that, the operation of fire by its own nature[34] and property[35], is so that [the fire] is not capable of managing the operations of water and wind and earth. So also the operation of water, through its own

(money)'); opp vābar (Syr. ܫܪܝܪܐ). Cf. Y 65.9 cōn bavād agar ped adādestānīh yazed [kū-š vāzag zīfān].

[30] . āfurāg (āfrāā : आदेष्टुः). Pers. āfurāg 'creating (in the spiritual state); who invokes blessing on' ≈ āfrīdār (Dk iv, M 420; ŠGV 15.25 dādārīh ud āfrīdārīh ud parvardārīh). See 9.27.

[31] . ātaš ud āb ud vād ud zamīg (ātaš āβ u vāṯ zamī: ज्वलनो जलंच पवनश्च पृथ्वीच).

[32] . Pers. cihrēn- : °īd 'to appoint nature, constitute ; form' (rendered by Skt. rūp 'to form'), cf. Syr. ܟܝܢ Pa.

[33] . Pers. vāspuhragān-: °īd 'to make proper, allocate, appropriate' (rendered by Skt. pra-kāś 'to make visible/ manifest').

[34] . cihrīh (ciharī: रुपतया). Pers. cihr 'seed; *natura*; form'≈ Gr. φύσις (also γένος), Syr. ܟܝܢܐ, Arab. طبع, طبيعة.

[35] . vāspuhragānīh (vāspuhargąnī: प्रकाशतया). Pers. vāspuhragān 'proper, peculiar, *proprius'* ≈ Gr. ἴδιος, Syr. ܕܝܠܢܝܐ, Arab. خاصّ. Pers. vāspuhragānīh '*proprietas*' ≈ Gr. ἰδιώτης, Syr. ܕܝܠܢܝܘܬܐ. Cf. VZ 29.9 bazišn, vāspuhragānīh ud ēvēnag.

nature and property, is so that it is not [capable of managing] the operation of wind and fire and earth. So also wind is not [capable of managing] the operations of fire and water and earth. So also earth is not capable to manage the operations of these [others]. But each of them is made, for its own operation proper and natural, by Him who, sagaciously and skilfully, appoints nature, composes and makes proper, according as He composed, arranged, appointed nature and made proper to that operation which is requisite and suitable.

57-62. So, as to man and the other creatures who are embodied of these elements, and composed of bone, flesh, sinew, veins and skin, their junction to each other is obvious. So also the property and natural disposition of the internal organs, such as the liver, spleen, lungs, kidneys, gall-bladder, and other organs for every one of which a function is manifest. They are made natural and proper for their functions, according to the [natural] edict.

63-64. So also is the function of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, mouth, hand, foot and other external organs, whose natural appointments are obvious and manifest, inasmuch as if one of these organs is disabled, the other does not deserve for the operation of that [organ], for which it is not appointed.

65-76. Let us examine the composition of only one of the organs of the body to see how it is wonderful and sagaciously composed:

So the eye in many ways has different names and different functions, such as the eyelash[36], the eyelid[37], the white[38], the eyeball[39], the black[40] and the pupil of the eye[41]. As the white is sinew[42], the black is water, and in the veins[43] of sinew[44] is

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[36]. mijag (mazg: भ्रू). Pers. mij(ag) or miz(ag) ‘eyelash’, Sogd. mzʾ ‘id.’, Gil. miji(k) ‘id.’, cf. VZ 1.25 cand mij-ē ī ka ēk ped did frōd nihend, 30.35 mizag, brū ud vars. Cf. Syr. ܬܡܪܐ.

[37]. tōb (tōβ: पुटे). Pers. tōb ‘layer; eyelid’, do-tōb ‘double-layered’, cf. VZ 34.37 harv tōb-ē do baxt, Vd 5.4 gl. ka-š hixr abar rased ka hamāg hān ī and gyāg, ka nē hamāg pērāmōn tōb-ē bē tāšišn. Cf. Syr. ܬܠܦܦܐ ‘eyelid’.

[38]. spēdag (spə̄daa: पक्ष्मं). Pers. spēdag ‘the white of an egg, the white of the eye, sclerotic & cornea; dawn’, Armen. սպիտակ ‘white, ceruse’. Cf. Syr. ܚܘܪܐ ‘*albus’*.

[39]. xāyag (xāeaa: अंडकं). Pers. xāyag ‘egg, eyeball’, cf. OPH 6 xāyag ī vay (Yt 13.2 vīš aēm), Bd 112 xāyag zardag … spēdag. Cf. Gr. ᾠόν, Syr. ܒܝܥܬܐ.

[40]. syāhag (sāeaa: तारका). Pers. syāh ‘black’, syāg, syāhag ‘the black; minute; eye-socket’. Neryōsang has translated it as tārakā ‘pupil of the eye’. Cf. Bab. Aram. ובבית גילגליהי דעינה. See also

سیاهه و سپیده‌ء چشم: شحمة العین. سیاهه و سپیدی چشم (دیده‌ء چشم و یقال سیاهه و سپیدی چشم): المقلة. سیاهه‌ء چشم: الحندر. سیاهه‌ء چشم: الحدقة. (مفتاح الإشراف، ۳۹۲)

[41]. tēdag (θə̄daa: बिंबं). Neryōsang has translated it as bimba ‘image, shadow; any disk, orb’. Pers. tēdag ‘pupil (of eye)’, cf. Gr. kóρη, Syr. ܒܒܐ. See also

مردمک ... در آذربایجان تیته خوانند. (برهانِ قاطع)

[42]. pay (pə̄γ : व्यजनं). Pers. pay ‘sinew, tendon, nerve’, cf. Bd 222 mōy ud pōst ud nāxun ud xūn ud pay ud cašm ud gōš ud abārīg tis. Cf. Gr. νευρά, Syr. ܝܬܪܐ.

[43]. rag (raγ: सिरया). Pers. rag/ rahag ‘nerve, vein, artery’, cf. Bd 189 ragān cōn rōdīhā, VZ 29.6 ragān ud ragīzagān. Cf. Gr. ἀρτηρία, Syr. ܥܪܩܐ ‘*arteria, vena*’.

disposed in such a way that it permits the turning of the eye, from one side to the other, the pupil is itself the vision[45], like a vision (or, reflection) in the water, the black stands in the veins of the white just as the standing of water in the veins of sinew, and the pupil inside the black is like the reflection of a thing in the limpid water, and the seeing of a shape in a clear mirror. The white in the hollow[46] is so disposed for the reason that when a particle of dust from the air arrives at the eye, shall not fall in it, but shall deflect towards the outer corner[47] of the eye, and shall not spoil the sight of the eye.[48]

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[44] . pay (pih: वसाया). Neryōsang has translated it as vasa ‘marrow, fat’. Notice that *rag* and *pay* often occur together, cf. ŠGV 6.14, Bd 196, VZ 29.2, Dk iii, M 278.

[45] . vēnāgīh (vīnāī: निरीक्षणं). Pers. vēnāgīh ‘seeing, sight, vision; reflection’, cf. VZ 29.6 vēnāgīh ī cašmān, Dk iv M 421 cašmān vēnāg-nirōgīh. Cf. Syr. ܚܙܘܐ, ܚܙܝܢܐ.

[46] . gabrīhā. Pers. gabr ‘deep’ = zafr (Av. jafra), ant. bālist, cagād, cf. Bd 121, Dk vi, M 517.

[47] . dumb ‘tail’, dumb ī cašm. See

دنبالهٔ چشم: ذنب العین، الذّنابي (مفتاح الإشراف، ۲۸۶)

[48] . Cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, LVII (142) Quis vero opifex praeter naturam, qua nihil potest esse callidius, tantam sollertiam persequi potuisset in sensibus? Quae primum oculos membranis tenuissimis vestivit et saepsit; quas perlucidas fecit, ut per eas cerni posset, firmas autem, ut continerentur. Sed lubricos oculos fecit et mobiles, ut et declinarent, si quid noceret, et aspectum, quo vellent, facile converterent; aciesque ipsa, qua cernimus, quae pupula vocatur, ita parva est, ut ea, quae nocere possint, facile vitet; palpebraeque quae sunt tegmenta oculorum, mollissimae, tactune laederent aciem, aptissime factae et ad claudendas pupulas, ne quid incideret, et ad aperiendas, idque providit ut identidem fieri posset cum maxima celeritate. (143) Munitaeque sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum, quibus et apertis oculis, si quid incideret, repelleretur, et somno coniventibus, cum oculis ad cernendum non egeremus, ut qui tamquam involuti quiescerent. Latent praeterea utiliter et excelsis undique partibus saepiuntur. Primum enim superiora superciliis obducta sudorem a capite et fronte defluentem repellunt;

77-79. Likewise, the auricles are crooked for the reason that the dust and winged noxious insects shall not directly enter therein, not even the moisture and discharge of the ear, nor the venom of insects.

80-91. It is manifest that, when the organs of breath [of life] and soul are observed, such as the smell, hearing, sight, taste and touch which are informers of living beings[49]; as also the wisdom, interpreted as 'every judge'[50], which is discriminator[51]; the knowledge which is acquiring[52]; the wit (faculty of intellectual awareness and perception) which is seeker and deliverer[53]; the intelligence which is treasurer and keeper[54]; the

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genae deinde ab inferiore parte tutantur subiectae leviterque eminentes; nasusque ita Iocatus est ut quasi murus oculis lnterlectus esse videatur.

49 . Cf. 1.8.

50. xrad ī harv rad vizārīhed popular etymology. Pers. xrad 'wisdom, reason' (Paz. xard) < xratu-, Av. xratu-/ xraθβ-, OPers. xratu-/xraθu-, Skt. krátu- '(mental) power, understanding, judgment, will' < *krétu- (cf. also Gr. κράτος 'force of body, vigor').

51 . xrad … vizingar. Cf. ŠGV 5.5 xrad ī vizināg, PDK 33 vizingar xrad, Dk vi, M 484 xrad kār ēd : vizīdārīh kirdan, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg ud uš ī pāyāg ud xrad ī vizināg.

52 . dānišn ī ayābāg. Cf. Dk vi, M 584 abardum dānišn hān baved ī ō tis ayābed.

53 . vīr ī x^vāstār abespārdār. Cf. Dk iii, M 48 vīr nirōg x^vāstār ud ayāftār, Dk vi, M 484 vīr kār ēd : tis x^vāstan, VZ 30.36 dānišnīg si : vīr x^vāhed, uš pāyed, ud xrad vizined.

54 . uš ī ganzvar ī nigāhdār. Pers. uš 'intelligence'; it fulfils the function of memory (Av. uš). Cf. Dk vi, M 484 uš kār ēd: ganzvarīh kirdan ud tis ī vīr x^vāst nigāh dāštan, AV 53 uš dāštārdar (cf. Pers. uš-dāštār name of a mountain, rendering Av. uši.darəna), HOD 55 rāyēnīdārīh ud ganzvarīh ī dēn kirdan ušiyārdar abāyed būdan. See Avicenna:

وكما أن للحسّ المشترک خزانة هی المصوّرة فكذلک للوهم خزانة تسمّى الحافظة والمتذكرة. وعضو هذه الخزانة ومؤخر الدماغ. ابن سينا، عيون الحكمة، ٢٨.

consciousness[55] which is itself the faculty of vision of the soul; the Fravahr-nature[56] which is itself a maintainer of the body; the Ahu[57] which is pure; and the other immaterial agents that are maintaining the body, which are constituted, in that manner, for their special operation and function; they are perfect in their own operation, as to function such as they are specialized and constituted for, as to that [operation] for which they are not constituted, they do not deserve.

92-95. The details of each of these [subjects] are [extant] in the book Dēnkird, as the excellent wise [Ādarfarrōbay] explained them out of the knowledge of the religion, and on account of tediousness are here left aside. Whoever wishes to know the wonder of the Mazdayasnian religion and the words of the old teaching[58], may refer to that unparalleled book, and shall know the wonder and truth of the superior religion.

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[55] · bōy ī x^{v}ad vēnāgīh ī ruvān. Cf. F 16 baoδaŋhō: vēnāg. Cf. also AV 56 bōy āgāhdar. See 1.8.

[56] · fravahr ī x^{v}ad cihr ī dāštār ī tan. The word fravahr is intended here to mean fravahr-cihr, one of the natural elements of the body (opp. fravahr-ruvān, cf. Āfrīn). Cf. Dk iii M 241-42, ŠGV 8.60, DD 2.13 gyān zīvēnāg ud fravahr dārāg, VZ 30.35 frāzvaxšēnīdār fravahr, AV 56 fravahr ranzvardar. About fravahr-cihr, see

راسته، ر. اشه، م. میرشاهی، تهران، ۱۳۷۲یزدگردی، ۸۵-۷۶.

[57] · ox ī abēzag. Pers. ox (Av. ahvā/ aŋ^{v}hā) means ‘spirit’ and also ‘chest’ (place of heart or mind). Cf. Dk iii, M 51 rāh ī az ox ō menišn, vi, M 473 andar ox menišn-ē, ŠnŠ 15.16 ox ud dil ī abēzag, VZ 21.6 ox ī abēzag, AV 56 ox abēzagdar. About ox-cihr, see

رهام اشه، آموزه‌ی بزشکیِ مغان، یک، اخو و منش، ۱۱۰-۱۱۸.

[58] . See 1.41.

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1-4. Again: the delusion of the atheists called "Dahrīs"[59], who are disengaged from religious work and effort in doing good, and they abundantly utter their illogical[60] talks.

5-8. You should observe that: they consider this world with its manifold revolutions[61] and dispositions of its members[62] and organs[63], and the opposition of one to another, and the mixture

[59]. dahrīg (daharī : दिगंबरान्). Neryōsang has translated it as digambara 'quite naked ; a naked mendicant'. Arabic دهر /dahr/ 'time' (≈ Gr. αἰών) possibly comes from Pers. dagr/ dēr 'long; late' < *dagra- < *darga- (for -h- < *g, cf. drahnā < *darga-n-aθu̯a-). Cf. Dk iii M 250 u-š andar dēn nām ped dēvesn ahlemōg anēr bared, ēn ī ped ēvāz ī šahr sofistāg dahrīg-iz xᵛānend 'In the Religion (= Avesta), he bore the name of *daēvayasna* 'Daēva-sacrificer', *aṣəmaoγa* 'heretic' and *anairya* 'non-Aryan', and in the vulgar tongue, he is called σοφιστής 'sophist' and also *dahrī*'.

[60] · abēvimand 'indefinite, un-delimited, devoid of rational definition' ≈ Gr. ἀόριστος, Syr. ܠܐ ܡܬܬܚܡܢܐ, ܕܠܐ ܬܚܘܡܐ. Cf. 15.1 abēvimand gōbišn.

[61] · vardišn 'change, alteration; revolution, cycle; inversion; *conversio*' (vardišni: परिवर्त्तनेन) ≈ Gr. ἀντιστροφή, Syr. ܗܘܦܟܐ, Arab. انقلاب، رجوع، انعكاس.

[62] . hannāmān (aṇdąmą: अंगानां). Pers. hannām 'limb, member', Parth. handām, Armen. անդամ, Aram. חַדָּם, Syr. ܗܕܡܐ ≈ Gr. μέλος. Cf. VZ 30.35 hannāmān ī abzārīg.

[63] . abzārān (aβazārą: शस्त्राणां). Pers. abzār 'materials, instrument, organ, ritual implements; pieces (of the game of chess); spices', Parth. abžār ≈ Gr. ὄργανον, Syr. ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ, Arab. آلة. Cf. Jāmāspīg 4 vas abzār ud cār.

of one with another, as a Principle[64] of infinite time[65]. And further that: there is no reward of virtue, no punishment of sin, no Heaven and Hell, and no one who conducts [the judgement of] virtue and sin. And further that: There is only the world of life, and not the world of thought.

9-16 As I have written and shown above that: A thing to be without a maker, or a thing to be chosen without a chooser is just impossible as a written work to be prepared without an author, or a house [to be built] without a builder or architect. It is impossible for anything to be made without a maker. The material world is composed, selected, and made of a mixture of contrary forces[66] as well as numerous things of different nature, colour, smell, characteristic and species, just as I have said above concerning the body[67] that: it is composed and made of many things such as: bone, sinew, flesh, vein, and skin[68], blood,

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[64] . bunēštag (bunyaštaa: मूलास्पदं). Pers. bunēšt(ag) ‘principle, foundation’ ≈ Syr. ܫܘܪܝܬܐ, cf. Dk iii M 217 gētīg bunēštag nē dāštan, CHP 1 bunēštag ēk ayāb do?

[65] . akanārag-zamān (Av. zrvānəm akaranəm), cf. Dk iv M 422.

[66] . gumēzišn ī zōrān hambidīgān. Pers. zōr/ zāvar ‘strength, force, power, (physical) capacity, faculty’ (Av. zavar/ zāvar) ≈ Gr. δύναμις, Syr. ܚܝܠܐ, Arab. قوّة. Cf. NS 5 šaš zōrān ī gyān, Dk iii, M 170 cahār zōrān ī gyān, PDK 45 zōr ī āhenzāg ud gīrāg ud gugārāg ud spōzāg.

[67] . tan (tan: वपुषि). Pers. tan ‘body; self; person; subject’ (Av. tanū) ≈ Gr. σῶμα, Syr. ܦܓܪܐ, Arab. جسم، جثة، بدن. Cf. F 3.8 tan husravīh ud ruvān dagroxīh, Bd 223 tan kirb.

[68] . ast ud pay ud pid ud rag ud pōst. Cf. 5.58, Dk iii M 278 cōn mardōm tan: mazg ud xūn ud rahag ud pay ud ast ud pid ud mōy.

wind, bile and phlegm[69], hands, feet, head, stomach, and other external and internal organs. The impossibility of uttering that "these various things of different substances and forces are never made" or "they are without a maker" is certain.

17-21. Likewise: Other creatures like plants, trees, water, fire, earth, and wind: their conduct is not according to their own will, and they are not themselves conductors, but they have a conductor, builder, and maker. It is necessary that He who is changing and conducting the (beings) from management to management, from manner to manner, and from time to time, does thus not according to the will and wish of made things, but rather of Himself who is conducting and making. Thus too is

69 · xūn ud vād ud viš ud drim are the four humours of the Persian medicine. Cf. Dk iii M 278 cōn mardōm tan ristagān: xūn ud vād ud viš ud drim. See also

المرة والدم والبلغم والريح ,كليلة و دمنة؛ باب برزويه المتطبب .

xūn (xūn: रक्तं). Pers. xūn 'blood', Parth. guxn ≈ Gr. αἷμα, Syr. ܕܡܐ, Arab. دمّ. Cf. Bd 189 xūn andar tan cōn āb andar zreh.

vād (vāṯ: पवनश्च). Pers. vād 'wind; air; blow; breath' (Av. vāta- m., Skt. vāta- m. 'wind; wind as a humour of the body', Khot. bāta- 'wind', bātā/i- '(the humour) wind'). Cf. VZ 30.3 vād kadag ped dil.

viš (vas: रसश्च). Pers. viš 'poison; bile', گش (Av. vīša- nt.) ≈ Gr. χολή, Syr. ܡܪܪܬܐ. Cf. VZ 30.14 viš ī suxr ud viš ī syā.

drim (daryam: निष्ठाच). Pers. drim 'phlegm, *pituita*' (rendering Av. °driβi- and dərəβδa-) ≈ Gr. φλέγμα, Syr. ܒܠܓܡܐ, Arab. بلغم. Cf. VZ 30.14 xūn ud drim, 30.16 kaf … drim (kaf = Skt. kapha 'watery froth or foam; phlegm')

the revolution of the years, months, days, and hours[70] which is with conventional signals, and the revolution of the celestial Sphere and the fixed stars and the established and sleeplessly-progressing Sun and Moon which is natural. This demonstrates that all natural movements[71] come from one who constitutes them, from Him by whom the natural movement is constituted.

22-25. From the other differences and different managements in the world, and from the world itself in its different times and ages, it is possible to know that this world is not without a manager (/ conductor). Is not its manager the God, rational in action, of infinite force, and of unlimited miraculous power[72]? Also since the increase, old age, and death of the living world are so obvious that man and cattle, together with seeds and trees naturally proceed from youth to old age, and from old age to death. But no one has been seen to come back from old age to youth or from death to life, nor can anyone say so.

26-28. Nor yet is it right to think, say or believe that: there is no retribution of virtue, and punishment of sin, nor the nature of

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70 . zamānān (jamąną: मुहूर्त्तानां). Pers. zamān 'time; hour; epoch; expiring date; death; horoscope; day', Syr. ܙܒܢܐ 'time; age'. Neryōsang has translated it as muhūrta 'the 30th part of a day'.

71 . cihrīg cannišnān (ciharī caṇdišną: रुपचंचलता). Pers. cannišn 'movement' ≈ Gr. κίνησις, Syr. ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܘܬܐ. Cf. Dk iv, M 420 cannišn jumbišn ī tisān.

72 . asāmānvarz (āsmąnvarz: आकाशकर्त्ता). Pers. varz (Av. varəcah 'prestige, dignity; illuminating power, radiance').

all creatures is the comprehension[73] of the Creator[74] and the perception[75] of the destroyer[76].

29-34. Further that: The honour of compliment is more preferable to them than the dishonour of abuse and evil. For, when good is done to them, they are thankful, but when they experience violence, they complain. From there, it is manifest that fate and fortune are impossible to come into existence except from the spiritual beings that are immaterial. Likewise, through the nature of all those who feel hungry, in every oppression and trouble, the desire of boon, hopefulness and consideration of the higher are typical of mankind, to the exclusion of wild beasts, birds and quadrupeds.

35-42. As to this that the Sophists say: “There is no confidence in nothing [in the world]. For, all are bitter. Because, one who says that ‘honey is bitter’, and [the one who says that] ‘honey is sweet’, both are right, since it is bitter to the bilious, and sweet to others. Also ‘bread is savoury’ and ‘bread is unsavoury’ are both true, since it is savoury to the hungry, and unsavoury to the full. And many other [sayings] like this.

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73 . ayābišnīh (ayāβašnī: अवलोकता). Pers. ayābišn ‘apprehension, understanding’ ≈ Syr. ܗܘܢܘܬܐ ‘understanding’ (rendering Gr. φρόνησις, λογισμός); ayābišn(īg)īh ‘attainableness, endowment with acquiring power’.

74 . dādār, Av. dātar ‘who puts; who gives; creator’.

75 . mārdārīh (māladārī: विमार्ज्जयित्री). Pers. mārdār ‘sentient; sense, an organ of sense’, mārdārīh ‘endowment with the faculty of sense’ ≈ Gr. αἴσθησις, Syr. ܪܓܫܬܐ ‘perception, sensation’.

76 . murnzēnīdār (marōcinīdār: विनाशकर्त्तुश्च). Pers. murnzēnīdār ‘destroyer’ (Av. marəxtārō ‘destroyer’), cf. Dk iii, M 340 x^varrah marnzēnīdār.

43-45. In reply to their illogical talks, it should be said, in a word: As the wise have said: “This word of you, sophists, about the bitterness of everything is itself bitter, and there is no truth in it”.

46-48. Many other things are said against them. This that we indicated here is for your information, O victors, so that you may obtain much from Religion.

Third Chapter

7

1. Another [chapter]: Concerning the existence of the contrary[1] of different substance[2]

§ 2-6. As I have demonstrated above[3]: From the composing, constituting and appropriating of things so sagaciously, as well, from their parts which are connected, it is clear, necessary, convincing, and manifest that their agent, composer[4], connector and constitutor is sagacious. The sagacity of His composition[5] of each of them is manifest through the constituting and appropriating of their own separate functions. And the sagacity of His action demonstrates that His action is reasonable (/with a

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1 . hambidīg (hambidī: विपक्षस्य). Pers. hambidīg ‘competitor, rival, antagonist, *contrarium*; partner’ ≈ Gr. τὸ ἐναντίον, Syr. ܣܩܘܒܠܐ, Arab. متضادّ، ضدّ. Cf. Dk iii M 162 višōbišnīgīh ī hambidīgān ped cihr. Pers. hambidīg-gōbišn (Dk v.22) ≈ Syr. ܣܩܘܒܠܐ ܠܬܠܐ. Pers. ēc-iš hambidīg nē (ŠGV 15.114) ≈ Arab. لا شریک له.

2 . Cf. Dk iii, ch. 147.

3. Cf. ŠGV 4. 11-12, 5.54-56.

4 . pesāxtār (pasāxtār : आरचयिता). Pers. pesāxtār ‘composer, compiler’ ≈ Syr. ܡܪܟܒܢܐ. Cf. 1.43, 5.55.

5. pesāxtagīh (pasāxtaī: आरचितत्वं). Pers. pesāzišn ‘composition, formation; component, constituent’, pesāxtagīh ‘*compositio*; synthesis’ ≈ Gr. σύνθεσις, Syr. ܡܪܟܒܘܬܐ, Arab. ترکیب.

motive) and causal. Because, every action of the sagacious should be reasonable and causal. The reason[6] and cause[7] of an action[8] arise first, and then the action itself arises.

§ 7-10. From the manifoldness of His action, it is manifest that His action is voluntary and desired. For, there are two modes of action by an agent: either, voluntary, it is manifold corresponding to his will[9]; or, natural, it is monotype as it is naturally constituted[10].

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6 . cim (cim : अर्थः). Pers. cim ‘reason, purpose, meaning, motive’ ≈ Syr. ܗܘܢܐ, ܪܫܝܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 107 cim ud vahān, AV 109 cim ud vahānag.

7 . vahān (vahąn: कारणं). Pers. vahān ‘cause; means; illness’ ≈ Gr. αἴτιον, αἰτία, Syr. ܥܠܬܐ, Arab. علّة، سبب. Neryōsang translates cim as artha, kāraṇa, and hetu, and vahān(ag) as kāraṇa and hetu. It is not without reason that Menasce has said: “Il est parfois assez difficile de distinguer exactement cim ‘motif’ et vahān ‘cause’, car si cim est bien la cause finale, vahān se situe également dans la ligne de la finalité. ”

8 . kunišn (kunišni: कर्म्मणः). Pers. kunišn ‘act, action, deed, practice, *opus*’ ≈ Gr. ἔργον, Syr. ܥܒܕܐ, Arab. فعل; (ἡ πρᾶξις, ܣܘܥܪܢܘܬܐ, عمل, kirdag); Gr. ἐνέργεια, Syr. ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ, Arab. فعل, kunišn(īgīh). Cf. Dk iv, M 418 ped kunišn cōn xānag az mardōm, Hn 2.9 kunišn ī x^{v}ēš, Dk vi, M 588 kunišn ud baxt, Jāmāspīg 16 kird ud kunišn.

9 . kām (kām: कामस्य). Pers. kām ‘will, desire, wish; lust’ (Av. kāma-) ≈ Gr. βούλησις, Syr. ܨܒܝܢܐ, Arab. إرادة. kāmagīg ‘voluntary, willing’ ≈ Gr. ἑκούσιον, Syr. ܨܒܝܢܝܐ, Arab. اختياريّ. Cf. F 19 cakana: kāmag, MX 2.28 kām ud kunišn ī mardōmān … kāmag ī yazdān, Dk vi, M 574 kāmag ud ārzōg ī tan.

10 . cihr (cihar: रूप). Pers. cihr ‘seed; nature; form, shape’ ≈ Gr. φύσις, Syr. ܟܝܢܐ, Arab. طبع, طبيعة; cihrīg ‘natural’ ≈ Gr. φυσικός, Syr. ܟܝܢܝܐ, Arab. طبيعي.

§ 11-21. From the manifold actions of the creator, it is manifest that His actions are voluntary and desired. His will is different in definition from His desire[11]. Because, His will is a desire, in potential[12], of the Principle. The reason and cause of an action are before its desire. Because until the reason of the desire of an action does not occur, the desire does not exist. The reason of an action proceeds from the cause which incites the desire of that action. "To desire" is to be willing of a causal thing. The cause of desiring something does not arise from it-self[13]. Because the cause arises from without, therefore, the reasonable action of the sagacious is demonstrated. The reason comes from a cause; the cause from a pressure[14]; the pressure from without[15];

Pers. cihrēn-īd (ciharanīṯ əstəṯ: रूपीतमस्ति) ≈ Syr. ܟܝܢ Pa. '*exstare fecit ut rem naturalem*, to give nature, constitute; give shape'.

[11] . abāyist (āβāyast: रुचितात्). Pers. abāyist 'desire, need, requirement, request; it was incumbent (upon)'. Cf. Aog. 63 ped kām ud abāyist ī x^vēš. Pers. abāyistīg 'desired, desirable; required; necessary' ≈ Syr. ܡܬܒܥܝܢܐ.

[12] . nirōg (nīrō: बलेन). Pers. nirōg 'strength, potency' ≈ Gr. δύναμις, Syr. ܚܝܠܐ, Arab. قوّة; (ped) nirōg 'in potential' ≈ Gr. κατὰ δύναμις, δυνάμει, Syr. ܒܚܝܠܐ, Arab. من القوّة, بالقوّة. Cf. Dk iii, M 51 nirōg … zōr, M 167 gyān nirōgān.

[13] . az x^vadīh (əž x^vadī: स्वत्वात्). Pers. x^vad 'self; *ipse*' ≈ Gr. αὐτός, Syr. ܩܢܘܡܗ. Pers. x^vadīh 'selfness; essence', az x^vadīh ≈ ܡܢ ܩܢܘܡܐ. Pers. andar x^vadīh '*per se*' (11.308), ped x^vadīh (Dk iii, M30).

[14] . avištāb (x^vaštāβ : उद्वेगश्च). Pers. avištāb 'oppression, tyranny; hurry, haste; pressure' ≈ Syr. ܐܘܠܨܐ. Cf. Dk iii, M 168 avištāb ī cihr az hān ī x^vēš hamēstār, M 373 abāyišn nē baved bē az niyāz ī az avištāb ō avištābspōzīh, ī nē az ēk x^vad u-š abēzag x^vēšīg bē az x^vad u-š x^vēšīg sazed, iv, M 418 abāyišn hamāg az avištāb.

the outside from an injurer[16]; and the injurer from an opponent[17]; *sine controversia*[18].

22-25. I have shown, in this chapter, through necessary knowledge and through syllogism, that the world and its parts and organs are made and naturally constituted. From the making and constitution of the world are manifested an agent who naturally constituted it, and the making through the reasonable action of the sagacious Creator. From the making through the reasonable action is manifested the existence of an Injurer from without.

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15 . az bē (əž bə̄ : विभेदात्). Pers. bē 'but; out, forth, away, off', az bē 'from outside, outwardly' ≈ Gr. ἔξωθεν, Syr. ܡܢ ܒܪ, ܡܢ ܠܒܪ, Arab. من خارج. bē-gōhr, opp. x^vad-gōhr (cf. Dk iii, M 21); bē-cihr (Dk iii, M 108) ≈ Syr. ܕܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܓܘܫܡܐ.

16 . vizūdār (vazūdār : विरोधयितुः). Pers. vizūdār 'diminisher, injurer'.

17 . az hamēstār (əž hamə̄stār : प्रतिपक्षात्). Pers. hamēstār 'opponent, contrary', (subst.) 'the adversary' (Av. hamaēstar). Cf. CHP 54 dēn hamēstārān, Jāmāspīg 2 hamēstār ud hambasān, Dk iii, M 167 hamjuxt … hamēstār(īg) … brādrod.

18 . abēsoxan (aβə̄saxun: अनुक्तापि). Pers. abē-soxan 'undisputed, indisputable' ≈ Gr. ἀναμφισβήτητοσ.

8

1. Further: Concerning the existence of the contrary of different principle.

2-14. This is manifest through good and evil in the world, and especially through the good agent having His own definition. Such as darkness and light, erudition and ignorance, fragrance and stench, life and death, sickness and health, justice and injustice, offence and freedom, and other contrary factors which exist and are visible in every country and land at all times, so that no country or land whatever exists, nor yet any time has been or shall be wherein these names, and especially those of good and evil have not existed or do not exist. And nowhere and never is it possible to say that good and evil change their own quality essentially.

15-23. There are also other contraries whose difference is not of substance, but of operation, kind and or nature, such as the difference of those of the same substance, one as regards the other, such as the male and female nature, the [different] scents, tastes and colours, the sun, moon and stars whose difference is not difference of substance, but of operation, nature and composition, each being required to its own operation. The difference of good and evil, light and darkness, and other substantially different things, is a difference not of operation, but of substance; their incompatibility of nature and mutually injuriousness are manifest. So that where goodness is, evil

undoubtedly is not; when light has entered, darkness is expelled.[19] Similarly there are other contraries, incompatible and mutually injurer, owing to the cause of difference of substance. Thus in the material world is manifest the contrariety of substance and mutually injuriousness of things.

24-34. The world of life (material world) is the result[20] of the world of thought (immaterial world), and the world of thought is its base[21]. For result is obtained through a base. Likewise, it is clear to any knowing that [the result] gives testimony [of the base]. The world of life is the result and the world of thought the base is manifest by the fact that: every visible and tangible thing comes from an unmanifest state to a manifest state. This is explicitly manifest. Because, man and other creatures, who are visible and tangible, are known to be generated from the world of thought which is invisible and intangible. Such as the (external) body form[22] that in the mirror has the same length, breadth and depth as itself. The body[23] of man and other creatures is unmanifest and invisible in the seed of their fathers.

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19 . Cf. Dk iii, M 385.

20 . bar (bar: फलं). Pers. bar ‘fruit; result; effect; benefit; revenue’ ≈ Syr. ܦܐܪܐ. bun ud bar ‘base and bearer; root and fruit; (principal) capital and interest; cause and effect’, cf. Purs. 26, Petit I.2 bun ud bar ī x^{v}āstag, Dk iii, M 185 bar az bun ‘a priori’, bun az bar ‘a posteriori’.

21 . bun (bun: मूलं). Pers. bun ‘base, bottom, foundation; *principium* ; *initium*; stock, capital; original; cause; beginning’ (Av. būna/ buna ‘bottom’) ≈ Gr. ἀρχή, Syr. ܫܘܪܝܐ, (ܪܝܫܐ).

22 . kālbod (kālbūṯ: कलेवरं). Pers. kālbod ≈ kirb (Av. kəhrp ‘visible body; bodily form’). Man. kālbed through Aramaic form (Syr. حلحد) from Greek καλοπόδιον.

23 . tan (tan: तनोः). Pers. tan (Av. tanū ‘(containing) body; self; person’). See 6.13.

The seed itself became manifest and visible and tangible in the back of the fathers. It is now necessary and possible to know that: This world which is visible and tangible has been created from the world of thought which is invisible and intangible. Similarly, [to return] from visibility and tangibility into invisibility and intangibility which are proper to an immaterial state, is unquestionable.

35-38. Since we have seen in the material world contrariety of substance and constitution, and mutual injuriousness, there can be no doubt that it is the same in the things of the world of thought, which is the base of the world of life, and the material things are its results. This is that which is manifest as regards the contrariety of substance.

39-45. Moreover, I have shown above that[24]: The reason and cause for the sagacious action of the Creator, who created the creatures, indicate the existence of the Antagonist. For it is well-known that, action proceeds from an agent in two modes:

– voluntary;
– or, natural.

The voluntary action is of three modes:

Two are due to the wise and sagacious:

Either, for seeking and appropriating the advantage and benefit;

or, for repelling and withholding the loss and harm which are from without.

And one is due to the ignorant and foolish, done absurdly and without reason.

[24] . See 7.

48-51. From the wise and sagacious, it is not right to arise actions without any reason and cause. Since the wise creator, omniscient and of perfect power, is complete and perfect in Himself, then He has no need to seek any advantage or increase from without. Therefore, it is possible and worthy to know that the reason and cause for His actions is all of one mode:

– to repel and ward off whatever harm which there might be from the external Antagonist and Injurer, which is itself the reason and cause for creation.

52-56. This too: The sagacious Creator's will is good. His will is all good. He created creatures in accordance with His will. The complete success of that sagacious whose will is good is the abolition and annihilation of evil. For so long as evil is not abolished, He whose will is good has not perfectly realised His will.

57-63. This too: The goodness of the sagacious Creator is manifest: through creativeness, nourishing, and protection, and teaching the way of cutting off the path of evil and the means of defending oneself against crime; and also through the four powers of the body[25] to repel and withhold the pain and sickness from without, and the malady[26] that is the opponent of the body[-health], whenever they come to the body; and through maintenance, maturation and growth of animals and plants by

[25] . cahārān zōrān ī tan (ciharą u zōrą ī zōr tan:) cf. Gr. δυνάμεις ὑπηρετικαί, Syr. ܚܝ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܝ̈ܬܐ. For cahārān zōrān ī tan, cf. VZ 30.21 cahārān zōrān ī tan ham-iz ōn pediš cōn tazāgān āb ped vād … For zōr see 6.12.

[26] . Pers. vahān, see 7.6.

the preserving and nutritive power[27] – this power cooperates with Nature, and its scriptural (Avesta) name is Fravaṣi – [28]; and through the four growth-promoting powers[29], that is, the attractive[30], the retentive[31], the digestive[32], and the propulsive[33], which, owing to the Creator's all-sagacity, withhold, jointly and with moderate power, the pain and sickness of various kinds inflected by the Antagonist who acts at random and whose will is evil; and [through] other [powers] which are united in strength

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[27] . zōr ī dārāg ud parvarāg (zōr ī dārā farβarā: प्राणेन धात्रा प्रतिपालयित्रा). Pers. zōr ī dārāg 'preserving/ maintaining power/force' ≈ Arab. قوّة حافظة. Pers. zōr ī parvarāg 'nutritive power' ≈ Syr. ܚܝܠܐ ܡܪܒܝܢܝܬܐ '*facultas nutritiva*', Arab. قوّة مغذّية. Cf. DD 2.132 fravahr ī dārāg, Dk iii, M 347 parvarāg ud pāyāg x^{v}arrah abar tōhmag ud tan …

[28] . Pers. fravahr (Av. fravaṣi-) rendered by Skt. vṛddhi- ≈ fravahr-cihr. See 1.8, 5.87.

[29] . zōr ī frabihišngar (zōr ī faržidašnigar: प्राणैः). Pers. frabihišngar 'who makes corpulent, who makes grow' ≈ Syr. ܡܪܒܝܢܐ, Arab. مربية. Cf. Dk iii, M 308 … andarōn tan ped frabihišn ud dārišn …, M 360-361 vinārišn ī ped frabihišn ud dārišn-abzārīh.

[30] . zōr ī āhanzāg (zōr i āhaṇžā: प्राणः आकृष्टा). Pers. āhanzāg 'attractive' ≈ Gr. ἑλκτική, Syr. ܓܕܘܒܐ, Arab. جاذبة. Cf. VZ 30.28

[31] . zōr ī gīrāg (zōr i gīrā: प्राणः धर्त्ता). Pers. gīrāg 'seizing, retentive' ≈ Gr. καθεκτική, Syr. ܐܚܘܕܐ, Arab. ماسكة. Cf. VZ 30.27, 29.

[32]. zōr ī gugārāg (zōr i guhārā: प्राणः विहारयिता). Pers. gugārāg 'digesting, digestive' ≈ Gr. ἀλλοιωτική, Syr. ܡܫܘܪܐ, Arab. هاضمة. Cf. VZ 30.27.

[33] . zōr ī spōzāg (zōr i spōžā: प्राणः पोष्टा). Pers. spōzāg 'expulsive, propulsive, excretory' ≈ Gr. ἀποκριτική, Syr. ܕܚܘܝܐ, Arab. دافعة. Cf. 12.65, VZ 29.6 zōr ī spōzāgīh.

and cooperate with each other, the good will of the Creator is manifest.

64-80. Further that: Pain and death that are the disturber and destroyer of the body, do not come from the Creator whose will is good, and who preserves and nourishes the body. This is manifest from this too, that the sagacious Creator neither repents or regrets His acts, nor does He disturb His own creatures or make them disabled, for He is sagacious and omniscient. It is proper to attribute repentance and regret to one of deficient knowledge, imperfect wisdom, and ignorance of the final outcome. For from the wise and sagacious does not arise an action without reason or cause. Similarly, the actions of the unwise, unenlightened who is ignorant of the final outcome are all absurd, without reason or cause. The Sagacious acts and arouses, with sagacity and skill, to withhold from His creatures the one whose actions are absurd and who is ignorant of the final outcome; and He has made the one of absurd actions hedged in and entangled into the net [of the material world]. For it is well-known that: it is not possible to withhold or annihilate a moving and living substance within a limitless void, nor is it possible to become fearless from injuriousness unless he is entangled, hedged in, and made captive. In entanglement and captivity, the "remedy" (against the one of absurd action) is suffering pain and grievous punishment. But until he becomes full conscious of his suffering pain and fully aware of his own ignorant activity, he thinks falsely as to what has befallen him; and the complete power of the omnipotent Creator [becomes manifest through this] perception of suffering and pain. After the complete perception of suffering and pain, under the omnipotence of the sagacious Creator, [the Creator] casts him idle into the limitless

Void. Then the good creation will have no fear of him; it will be immortal and free from hostility. That is the complete and skilful sagacity and foreknowledge of the remedy of the omniscient Creator of the good.[34]

81-83. Through observation of things the difference[35] of things is manifest. The difference [of things] is of two modes as mentioned above:

– One is difference in operation[36];
– The other is difference in substance[37].

84-91. Difference of operation involves cooperation and union of forces. Difference of substance involves discordance and opposition. It is manifest that [different] things cannot be in one place. If the things were one, then One would be nameless. For it is through the possession of a name that one thing can be recognised from another. The existence of evil as different in principle from good means that neither is the cause of the other. For, each one is existent through its own essence, as is manifest from the perpetual injury and opposition between the two.

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[34] . Cf. 4.16-20.

[35] . judāgīh (judāī: विभिन्नत्वं). Pers. judāgīh ‘separation, *differentia*’ (opp. hamīh, cf. Dk iii, M 111) ≈ Gr. διαφορά, Syr. ܦܘܪܫܢܐ, Arab. فصل, فرق. Cf. VZ 22.5 doīh ī bunēštān ud judāgīh ī abar harv rāyēnišn.

[36] . judgārīh/ judkārīh (jaṯkārī : विभिन्नकार्यत्वं). Pers. judgārīh ‘difference of act, dissimilarity in function’. Cf. VZ 30.18 cahār āmēzišn ī judcihrag judgār, Dk iii, M 122 jud hend harv se pez judgārīh.

[37] . judgōhrīh (jaṯgōharī : विभिन्नरत्नत्वं). Pers. judgōhrīh ‘difference of substance, dissimilarity in substance’. Cf. Jāmāspīg 2, VZ 1.3, 2.2. Pers. judgōhr (opp. hamgōhr, Syr. ܒܪ ܐܘܣܝܐ, ܫܘܐ ܒܐܘܣܝܐ), cf. [T]M 9 II gyān az tan judgōhr.

92-102. If someone were to object that: “Since there is a multiplicity of contraries, such as good and evil, darkness and light, fragrance and stench, life and death, sickness and health, pleasure and sorrow, and many others, so there should be a great number and variety of principles”, then the reply is that:

Even if the contraries may have many names and be of many kinds, yet all are comprised[38] under two names, and these names are the seeds comprising them, that is: good and evil. The [contraries] of different names and kinds are tokens of these two names. There has not been, nor will be anything which is neither good nor bad, or a mixture of the two. Hence it is explicitly manifest that there are two principles, not more; and also that good cannot proceed from evil, nor evil from good.

103-116. From this too it is possible to know that: what is complete and perfect in goodness, no evil can proceed from it. If it could, then it would not be perfect. For if a thing is said to be perfect, there is no place for anything else. If there is no place for anything else, nothing else can proceed from it. If God is perfect in goodness (- wisdom) and knowledge, then it is known that ignorance and evil cannot come from him. If they could come from Him, then He would not be perfect. If He were not perfect, He should not be praised as God and completely good. If both good and evil could proceed from God, then He would be incomplete as far as goodness is concerned. If He is incomplete in respect of goodness, then He is incomplete in respect of

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[38] . parvastag (faraβastaa : समुद्गतानि). Pers. parvastag ‘surrounded; comprised’ ≈ Syr. ܡܬܬܣܝܟܢܘܬܐ, Arab. محصور. Cf. Dk iii, M 17, iv, M 418 ped dānāgīh parvastag ayāb nē. Pers. parvastagīh ‘comprising; comprisal’, cf. Dk iv, M 411 parvastagīh ī harv dānāgīh andar dēn mazdesn.

knowledge. If He is incomplete in respect of knowledge, then He is incomplete in respect of intellect, intelligence, science, wit and other organs of wisdom. If He is incomplete in respect of intellect, intelligence, wit and science, then He is incomplete in respect of wholesomeness. If He is incomplete in respect of wholesomeness, He is apt to become sick. If He is apt to become sick, He is incomplete in respect of life.

117-123. If someone should object that: "I see that both good and evil, indeed[39], proceed from a single substance, such as man", then [the reply is thus:]

This is because man is not at all perfect. And because of his incompleteness in respect of goodness, evil proceeds from him. And because of incompleteness in respect of wholesomeness, he falls sick; and for the same reason he dies. For the cause of death is the conflict of two contrary accidents in one substance. Where there are two contrary accidents in one substance, the occurrence of sickness and death is acknowledged.

124-135. If someone should object that: "Good and evil are actions, which do not exist until they are performed", then the reply is that:

An action can no more exist without an agent than an accident without a substance, in which it belongs[40]. Moreover, it

[39] . ped kunišn (pa kunišni: कर्म्मणा). Pers. ped kunišn 'in action; indeed; *reapse*' ≈ Syr. ܒܥܒܕܐ, Arab. بالفعل. Cf. Dk iv, M 418 ped kunišn cōn xānag az mardōm.

[40] . ped gōhr (pa gōhar: रत्नेन). Pers. ped gōhr 'belonging to the substance; of good stock' ≈ Gr. οὐσιωδῶς, Syr. ܒܐܘܣܝܐ. Cf. Dk vi, M 529.

is acknowledged that its own existence and establishment cannot be of itself. For when a man is angry, Good-Thought[41] is far from there. When Good-Thought takes room, anger is not there. When a man tells a lie, truth is far from there; [and that man is called liar]. When he speaks the truth, falsehood has no place there; and that man is called truthful. Similarly, when sickness comes, health is not there. When health has come, sickness departs. For a substance which does move is possible, but no movement is possible except when it belongs to a substance.

136-137. Concerning this chapter, too, I contented myself to explain succinctly. May you observe subtly and distinctly thereon.

[41] . vahman (vahman: ग्वह्मनः). Pers. vahman ‘good thought; the divinity Vohu Manah’(Av. vohu manah), Man. νοῦς.

Fourth Chapter

9

§ 1-3. Another [chapter]: It is just as well to quote, for your information, some chapter of the book Dēnkird that testifies to the existence of the Contrary. For that which is written above, and that which will be written are all grown from the seed that the blessed “Ādarpādyāvandān” sewed. And thanks unto his relative, the excellent wise Ādarfarrōbay, son of Farroxzād.

4. The fourth chapter, which is from the Dēnkird:

Concerning the existence of the contrary of the creatures, and the precedence of the contrary in comparison with the creatures, from the exposition of the Good Religion (= Avesta).[1]

§ 5-13. The existence of the contrary of the creatures is perceptible by sight and understandable by knowledge from the innermost of the body of man even to the outermost of the body, and beyond is certain within the limits of resemblance (one of the means of correct knowledge)[2]. The innermost of man, which is the innermost of the breathing soul, is seen, through complete

[1] . In that portion of the Denkird known to be extant (Dk iii, M 262/ Menasce, 239 a), we only find the title of the chapter.

[2]. humānāgīh (humānāī: उपमान°). Pers. humānāgīh ‘resemblance, likeness, *similitudo*; comparison’ ≈ Gr. ὁμοιότης, Syr. ܕܡܘܬܐ ‘likeness; example’. See 5.20.

contemplation, within the same limits. For example, ignorance is the opponent of knowledge, deceit of good morals, mendacity of veracity, and other vices which are the cause of the wickedness of the soul are opponents of the virtues which are the seed of knowledge, good morals and veracity.

§ 14-18. Further: The morbid humours[3], comprised in the body, are opponents of the humours[4] which establish the body; these morbid humours are the cause of the disturbance of the body. Furthermore: Among the elements[5], cold is the opponent of heat, dryness is of moisture, and the other agents of corruption[6] are opponents of the agents of generation[7]. In the

[3] . abēristagān (aβə̄rastagą: व्याधयः). Neryōsang renders abē-ristag by Skt. vyādhi- ‘disorder, disease’. It rather corresponds to the Skt. doṣa ‘morbid element, disease (especially of the three humours of the body, applied also to the humours themselves)’.

[4] . ristagān (rastagą: अंतरंगानां). Pers. ristag ‘element; humour; elementary properties (hot, cold, wet, dry)’. Cf. Dk iii, M 170 ristagān ī tan, M 278 tan ristagān. See 2.12.

[5] . zahagān (zahagąn: जनानीनां). Pers. zahag ‘birth, begetting; progenitor; element’. See 4.18.

[6] . vināhišngārān (vanāsašnigarą: विनाशकराणि). Pers. vināhišn ‘corruption, decay’ ≈ Gr. φθορά, Syr. ܚܒܠܐ, Arab. فساد. Pers. vināhišngār ‘corruptor, destroyer’, cf. Dk iv, M 422 az-iz mehmānīh ī vināhišngārān cōn sardīh ud huškīh.

[7] . bavišngārān (bvašnikārą: संभूतिकार्याणां). Pers. bavišn ‘becoming, coming into existence, generation’ ≈ Gr. γένεσις, Syr. ܗܘܝܐ, Arab. كون. See 4.88. Pers. bavišngār ‘agent of becoming, generator’, cf. Dk iv, M 422 az-iz bavišngārān cōn garmīh ud x^{v}ēdīh.

temporal world[8], darkness is the opponent of light, stench of fragrance, ugliness of handsomeness, unsavouriness of savouriness, poison of antidote, the noxious wolf of the munificent cattle, and the bad villain of the good man. Beyond the world, the work of the Robbers[9] (Planets, etc.) is the opponent of the work of the divine Bestowers (fixed stars, constellations)[10]. Beyond all this legion, perceptible by sight and understandable by knowledge, this general information is certain within the limits of resemblance: the Daēva are the opponents of the Yazata.

19-26. The existence of the opponent is prior to the creation, and his arrival to the creatures is posterior to the creation. The Creator created, intelligibly[11], with the motive of the desirable creation, and through provision of a remedy, the creation, and

[8] . āvām (ōγąm: युगे). Pers. āvām (hangām) ‘time, age; season, period; point of time; *universitas*, (temporal) world’ ≈ Syr. ܟܠ ‘whole; world’ (Cf. Book of Ps., 96C). Cf. Dk ix, M 792 ēvēnag cahār āvām, NM 1, 4, 10 āvām frazānagān. Pers. andar āvām ‘in the world; in our times’, see 1.35.

[9] . gayōgān (gadūgą: ग्रहाः). See 4.10.

[10] . bay-baxšēnīdārān (baγa baxšinīdārą: दानविभक्तृणां) ≈ bay-baxtārān, cf. Dk iii, M 205 bayān baxtārīh. See 4.8.

[11] . dānišnīg (dānašnī: ज्ञानेन). Pers. dānišn ‘knowledge, science’, dānišnīg ‘knowledgeable; intelligible; rational; spiritual’ ≈ Gr. νοητός, νοερός, Syr. ܡܬܝܕܥܢܐ, Arab. معقول, معلوم. Cf. CHP 58 uš az mēnōg ī dānišn dānišnīg

put into operation. This one statement[12] consists of five parts of definition[13]:

A. He created intelligibly.
B. He created with motive.
C. The motive of the creation was the necessity of creation.
D. He created the creation as a remedy.
E. The creator put the creatures into [their own] operations.

27-35. The existence of these five terms is manifest through creations, both spiritual[14] and material[15]. The "intelligible" sign [of His creation] is testified by the sagaciously arrangement of the creatures. "Creation with motive" is manifest owing to the same sagacity. "The motive was the necessity of creation": For,

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12 . vāzag (vāžaa: वाक्यं). Pers. vāzag 'word, statement, proposition, *oratio*; utterance; precept' ≈ Gr. λόγος, Syr. ܡܠܬܐ, ܡܐܡܪܐ , Arab. قول. Cf. Dk iii, M 47 andar hān vāzag, viii, M 734 vāzag cāšīdan.

13 . sāmān (sāmąn: सीमाः). Pers. sāmān 'limit, term, *terminus*; definition; part of proposition' (Armen. սահման) ≈ Pers. vimand, Gr. ὅρος, , ὁρισμός, Syr. ܬܚܘܡܐ, Arab. حدّ. Cf. Dk viii, M 735 sāmān ī vāng.

14 . āfurišnān (apurašną: सृष्टिम्श्च). Pers. āfurišn '(spiritual or conceptual) creation; hymn of praise'. Cf. Dk iii, M 202 āfurišn ēvāz ī dām fradum ped meyānjīgīh ast māyag ud tōhmag mēnōgīg ud ped nirōg gētīg nimāyišn ... 'The āfurišn of the creatures is first only in the spiritual state, their matter and seed being spiritual, and showing the material world in potential …'. See 5.46.

15 . dahišnān (dahišnąn: दातिभिः). Pers. dahišn '(material) creation, production; gift, charity (dāšn)'. Cf Dk iii, M 203 dahišn ēvāz ī dām az mēnōgīgīh ō gētīgīh vardēnīdan ud ast dēsag az māyag ī-š ped nirōg būd 'The dahišn of the creatures is solely the conversion of them from the spiritual to the material state, their forms developed from the matter in which they existed in potential'.

the arrangement of the creation so skilfully ought to arise from the requirement of creation. The necessity testifies that the creation itself is according to natural order with motive. “He created [the creation] as a remedy” is demonstrated through the intelligible creation. Because knowledge implies voluntary, and voluntary natural. “He put into operation”, is manifest through the functions of the creatures, one by one, both naturally and voluntarily.

36-39. The evidences of the existence of the opponent (antagonist) prior to the creation are many. One of them is the necessity of the creation of the creatures. Because the definition of “necessity” is not applied to anything except “need”. Consequently, from necessity is need, from need hurry (oppression), from hurry the existence of the opponent who is prior to the necessary operation, that is, creation[16].

40-45. The arrival of the Onslaught[17] on the creatures, posterior to the (material) creation, shows the constitution of (the creatures as) the means of the Creator, for encountering the Opponent, before the onset of the Opponent, which is in accordance with the omnisciently pre-creation by the Creator. The instrument itself demonstrates that the creatures are arranged to combat against the Opponent similar to the natural arrangement. The operation of the creatures is similar to the natural removal of sorrow. Their establishment is similar to the preparation of a battle against the enemy and adversary. And

[16] . See 7.21.

[17] . ebgad (aibigaṯ: प्रतिपक्षस्य). Pers. ebgad ‘onslaught, aggression’ (Av. aiβi.gaiti ‘arrival, onset’) ≈ abarrasišnīh. Cf. Dk iii, M 279 abarrasišnīh ī judgōhr ī dēnīg ebgad nām.

their operation, both natural and voluntary, is [similar to] repelling all pressure.

Fifth Chapter

10

1. Another chapter: Concerning the colloquies of the monists[1], from which even the proof of the duality[2] is manifested.

§ 2-12. It should be known that: whoever wishes to know the Creator, he should give trouble to his own life, should meditate in a subtle way, and first he should know about his own body and soul, that is: “Who created them, out of what, and for what operation? Who is his opponent and adversary? And who is his friend and assistant? Who hastens him to commit crime? Of what substance is he? And how can he be saved?”[3] If not he is unable to know the Creator, according to His qualities of being[4], and come to himself.

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[1] . ekīhuskārān (yakī x^{v}aškārą: एकत्वसमालोचिनां). Pers. ekīh-uskār ‘monist’ ≈ Pers. ēk-bunēšt-uskār ‘one who considers that there is only one principle’ (11.3). See 4.103.

[2] . doīh (duī: द्वित्वस्य). Pers. doīh ‘duality; dualism; duplicity’ ≈ do-bunīh (Dk iii, M 104), see 12.33 dobunēštaghangār ‘dualist’. Cf. Dk iv, M 409 do doīh ī nax^{v}ist, PDK 48 nišān ī doīh.

[3] . Cf. CHP 1.

[4] . cōnīh (cūnī: यथास्थतया). Pers. cōnīh ‘quality; manner, mode; character’ ≈ Gr. ποιότης, Syr. ܐܝܟܢܝܘܬܐ, Arab. كيفية. Pers. ped cōnīh (Dk iv, M 418) ≈ Gr. ἐν τῷ ποῖόν ἐστιν, Syr. ܒܗ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ.

§ 13. For, when he bore the name of "Creator", then, at the same time he bore these three names: creation, religion and soul.

§ 14-19. Because the derivation of the name of "Creator" from that of "creation" is well known. The Creator of the creation created the creations with the view to the (special) functions, and does not let them without function. The function of the creature is: to know and perform the will of the Creator, and to abstain from what is not His will. From performing the will of the Creator and avoiding doing what is not His will results the salvation of the soul.

§ 20-27. The will of the creator cannot be known, except through the *daēnā* (religion)[5] of the Creator. The Religion is doubtless made (or, destined) by the Creator. Now, it is worthy to know that: God made the religion so as to make known His will. From the knowledge of His will in order to save the soul are manifested the beneficence and mercifulness of God. And from the religion as saviour for the soul are manifested the grandeur and value of the religion. From the necessity of the salvation of the soul are manifested the deception and delusion of the soul. From the deception and delusion of the soul are manifested a deceiver and deluder of the thoughts, words and deeds of man, and, at the same time a spoiler of souls is manifested.

28-32. Now it would be expedient for us to understand and know that: Of what substance is that deluder who spoils the souls? Because if he is said to be of the same substance that the

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[5] . dēn (dīn : दीनि). Pers. dēn 'religion, religious vision; conscience; the Avesta and Zand' (Av. daēnā).

material and spiritual creations of God, given that God made the religion for the salvation of the soul, then it is not right for Him to create the deceiver and deluder of souls knowingly and voluntarily. For if He be Himself the creator, and be Himself the deceiver and deluder of souls, and nothing occur except by His will, then, when we desire salvation from [this] God, whom shall we make as a support?

33-37. Now every intelligent man should know and recognize that: From whom should we flee and avoid, and to whom should we seek shelter, and in whom should we hope? The remedy of this matter is nothing else but to know God through His qualities. Because, as I wrote above[6], it is necessary not only to know His existence, but also His qualities (or, attributes) and His will.

38-42. I have examined, in the world, all the doctrines and beliefs[7] that belong to the doctrinaires. One [doctrine] asserts that: All the good and evil in the world are due to God. And one asserts that: All the good of the world, besides the hope of saving the soul, is due to God, and the cause of all evil of the body, besides the fear of the soul, is Aŋra Mainyu. All [the doctrines] are derived from the division of these two original [doctrines] into schisms and sects.

43-77. I was ever fervent-hearted to know God, as I wrote above[8], and inquiring in the research of His Religion and will. Likewise, for the sake of research, I travelled in foreign countries, in the land of Indians, [meeting] many different sects.

[6] . See 5.6-9.
[7] . kēš ud vurravišn. See 1.35.
[8] . See 1.35-38.

Because, I did not like [to follow] a religion by inheritance, but I sought that which is more reliable and acceptable before the testimony of wisdom, I went also along with many different sects, until a time when, owing to the beneficence of the divinities, and the strength, fortune and power of the Good Religion, I escaped from the depths of the gloom and ill-solvable doubtfulness. By the same power of the divine science[9], and the books and colloquies of the wise, and the matchless books of the wise "Ādarpādyāvandān", and the book written by the blessed Rōšn, son of Ādarfarrōbay, named the "Rōšn-nibēg", and also the book of the excellent wise and righteous Ādarfarrōbay, son of Farroxzād who was the Leader of those of the good religion, explained parts of the Religion (or, the Avesta) and called it the "Book of the Dēnkird", I was saved from much doubtfulness, error, deceit and wickedness of (false) doctrines, and, especially, from that one who was greater, more monstrous and more evil-teaching than [all] the deceivers, that is the hard-headed[10] Mani, whose doctrine was sorcery, religion deceitfulness, teaching malice, and habit secretiveness. I knowingly professed, by the power of philosophy and the strength of the divine science, not fanatically, but through the holy religion, the Ahuric laws of breaking off with the demons, that the creator Ahura Mazdā taught to the righteous Zaraθuštra.

[9] . dēn-dānāgīh (dīn dānāī: दीनिज्ञानस्य). Pers. dēn-dānāg 'wise in religion, versed in the Avesta and Zand; theologian' renders Av. daēnō.sāc (Dēn. Viz. f 8v cand dastvarān az dēndānāgān), dēn-dānāgīh 'knowledge of the religion, Scientia divina', cf. 1.45 dēn-dānišnīh. See 5.92.

[10] . vardmasturg mānī (raṯmastarag mānāe: गुरोः मस्तग्र्गमानस्य). Pers. vard (Av. varəta, Parth. vard 'cairn, stone', Kurd. berd 'stone, rock, boulder', Waxī γwrt 'Pounding-stone'); Pers. masturg/ mastirg (Av. mastərəγan 'brain; skull'), cf. Dk ix, M 811.

Zaraθuštra came alone, as a true apostle, to the court of Kai Vīštāspa, with sublime insight. He taught the religion to Kavi Vīštāspa and the wise, with a powerful tongue, through testimony of wisdom, convincingly, eloquently, through resolving many doubts, and through giving visible testimony of the Aməṣa Spəṇta, together with many [other] wonders, and much greatness which were beyond the power of worldly beings, and he whose Fravaṣi is worshipped saw them. Kay Spəntōδāta and Zairi.vari and other governors, and numerous sons of the warlike and sanguinary adopted the Religion. They even wandered to abroad, Rome (Greece, or Byzantium) and India, in propagating the Religion. Since then It passed on, by succession, to the lords and kings of the Kavi race, the exalted ones, until the ordeal with melted metal (lit. zinc) pouring upon the breast of the blessed Ādarbād, son of Mahrspend, in the reign of his (late) Majesty Šābuhr son of Ohrmazd, the king of kings, in a controversy with heretics of different species of many kinds, and especially with the greatest heretics among them who were also known as the Peccībāstag[11]; [in that ordeal and those controversy, Ādarbād] acquitted himself well. The Roman (or, Greek) [philosophers] who have been, as ever, named "Anāst"[12], asked many knotty questions about this religion. There was no question making doubtful this religion that has been shelved.

[11]. peccībāstagān (paca āβāyastagą: अभीप्सुभिः). Pers. peccībāst(ag) 'hypocrite', cf. Dk iii, M 3 pursed peccībāst ahlemōg, Dk vi, M 485 vas-abzār mardōm vadcihrag peccībāst. Pers. peccībāstīh 'hypocrisy', cf. Dk vi, M 481 x^vadāydēnīh ayāb x^vāstagdēnīh ayāb peccībāstīh ayāb ahlemōgīh. Cf. also peccībāgīh 'hypocrisy; treachery'(AV 104).

[12] . anāst (anāst: नास्तिक). Neryōsang translates anāst as nāstika- m. 'atheist, unbeliever' (nāstika- adj. 'atheistical').

The sages of the Land of the Aryans (Ērānšahr, Persia) won them over. Not like other faiths that propagate their religious vision, secretively, deceivingly, delusively for the deceived, and undutifully among the nations and peoples with little knowledge, vulgar and demonic who have heard nothing from wisdom and philosophy and science. They won't yield to appearance until they have sufficiently deceived and deluded. Immediately they have deluded a sufficient group of little knowledge, they will appear with much inconsistent discourse, falsehood and deficiency [inherent in] their religion.

78-80. I here present a few of their much inconsistency and deficiency for informing the neophytes[13] of the dispute[14]. Seeing that the books of the sagacious ancients have much wisely discoursed of these things, guided by the desire of precision and acuteness, I contented myself to explain succinctly. May you observe it with kind regards.

[13] . nōghamōzagān. See 1.39, 45.

[14] . dādestānāgāhīh (dāestą āgāhī : न्यायपरिचितये). Pers. dādestān 'judgment; case; civil law; legal affair; dispute' (Khot. Lāstana 'dispute', Bactr. λαστανο 'id.'). Cf. Dk ix, M 791 dādestān šnāxtārīh ud vizārdārīh.

Sixth Chapter

11

1-2. From here on I write about the inconsistency of their (insane) discourses. May you cast an upright glance on it with wise eyes.

3-5. First about the monotheists[1] who state thus: “There is only one god[2], who is benefactor[3], wise[4], powerful[5], clement[6]

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1 . ēk-bunēšt-uskār (yak bunyašt x^{v}aškār: एकमूलास्पदसमालोचिनः) ‘one who considers that there is only one principle, monist’ ≈ Arab. موحّد. See 4.103 ēkīhuskārān.

2 . ēk ast yazd ≈ Arab. وحد الله, or احد الله. Cf. Q 2.163 وَإِلَٰهُكُمْ إِلَٰهٌ وَاحِدٌ لَّا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الرَّحْمَٰنُ الرَّحِيمُ, 112.1 قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ.

3 . kirbakkar (kərbagar: पुण्यकरो) ≈ Syr. ܛܒܐ, Arab. لطيف, (محسن). Cf. Q 12.100 إِنَّ رَبِّي لَطِيفٌ لِّمَا يَشَاءُ إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْعَلِيمُ الْحَكِيمُ.

4 . dānāg (dānā: ज्ञानी) ≈ Arab. العليم الحكيم, عالم (الغيب والشهادة). Cf. Q 36.38 الْعَزِيزِ الْعَلِيمِ.

5 . tuvānīg (tvąnī: शक्तिमान) ≈ Arab. عزيز, الله على كل شيءٍ قدير, هو القوى العزيز … الله, مقتدر. Cf. Q 5. 118 أَنتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ, 11.66 إِنَّ رَبَّكَ هُوَ الْقَوِيُّ الْعَزِيزُ, 51.58 إِنَّ اللَّهَ هُوَ الرَّزَّاقُ ذُو الْقُوَّةِ الْمَتِينُ, 54.42 عَزِيزٍ مُّقْتَدِرٍ.

6 . x^{v}ābar (x^{v}āβar: रक्षकः) ≈ Arab. رؤوف ، رحيم, cf. Q 19.93, 57.9 وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ بِكُمْ لَرَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ. x^{v}ābarīh ≈ Syr. ܛܝܒܘܬܐ.

and merciful[7], so that both pious deed and crime, truth and falsehood, life and death, good and evil come from him[8]".

6-16. Now ask them: Is god always beneficent and merciful, benefactor and law-abiding[9]? Does he know all that is and was and will be? Does he attain whatever he wills? And this too: Is he law-abiding and interceding[10], or is he once thus and another time not thus? For if he be clement, benefactor and merciful, then why has he thrown Ahrmen (here, *Satan*) and the demons and the hell and all this much evil and these marks (of punishment)[11] at his own creatures, through his clemency and benefaction and mercifulness? If he knew nothing of it, then where are his wisdom and omniscience? If he did not wish to keep calamity and evil away from his creatures, and to give only benefit to every person who is loyal, where is his law-abidingness and intercession? If it were not possible for him to not create it, then how is he omnipotent? Anyhow we may observe and consider that: when they say that "everything

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[7] . abaxšāyišngar (aβaxšāišnigar: क्षमापरश्च) ≈ Arab. رحمن, غفور. Pers. yazd x^{v}ābar abaxšāyišngar 'Deus misericors et clemens' ≈ الله الرحمن الرحيم, ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܚܡܢܐ ܘܡܚܣܢܐ. Cf. Q 4.110 اللَّهَ غَفُورًا رَّحِيمًا, 39.53 إِنَّهُ هُوَ الْغَفُورُ الرَّحِيمُ.

[8] . Cf. Q 4.78 وَإِن تُصِبْهُمْ حَسَنَةٌ يَقُولُوا هَٰذِهِ مِنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ وَإِن تُصِبْهُمْ سَيِّئَةٌ يَقُولُوا هَٰذِهِ مِنْ عِندِكَ قُلْ كُلٌّ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ.

[9] . dādestānīg (dāestąnī: न्यायत्वं) ≈ Arab. حكيم, dādestān ≈ Arab. حكم، قضاء, Syr. ܕܝܢܐ. Cf. Q 27.9 أَنَا اللَّهُ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ, 6. 57 إِنِ الْحُكْمُ إِلَّا لِلَّهِ يَقُصُّ الْحَقَّ وَهُوَ خَيْرُ الْفَاصِلِينَ.

[10] . meyānjīg (myąžaī : माध्यस्थं) ≈ شفيع, ليس لها من دون الله ولى ولا شفيع. Cf. Q 39.44 قُل لِّلَّهِ الشَّفَاعَةُ جَمِيعًا .

[11] . drōšag (vīrōšaa: आम्नायं). Pers. drōš(ag) 'branding, mark of cautery', Armen. Դրոշմ 'character, mark; seal; blemish', X^{v}arāsānī d^{ə}rōš(m) 'mark made by cutting or branding in'. Cf. Dk viii, M 710 bann ud drōš (Vd 3.41 baṇdəm … draošəm); J 16.34 ēn and vad ud drōšag.

good[12] and evil[13] has arisen from god", then there is no possibility except if they separate from him these four virtues which are requisite for divinty, i.e., omniscience[14], omnipotence[15], goodness[16] and mercifulness[17]. When only one of these four virtues is separated from him, then he is not complete in his divinity (godhead). For, he who is not omniscient, or not omnipotent, or not good, or not merciful is not god.

17-19. Further: When he is a successful ruler over every person and thing[18], then why did not he exempt his world and kingdom from every enemy and adversary of his activities, so that there would not be anything whatever of offence, oppression, injustice and complaint for any one in his kingdom? Since the kingdom and or lordship of a human king and or lord is at that time esteemed when he can protect and take care of his country and kingdom, through his wisdom, so that the enemies of his activities may not dare to rise up against him, and to commit sin and harm; or, when the enemies of his activities rise up against him, then he can keep them away from his bosom friends, and make every one exempt from offence.

12 . nēkīh (nəkī: शुभं) ≈ Arab. خير.

13 . anāgīh (anāī: अन्यायं) ≈ Arab. شر.

14 . harvispāgāhīh (haravistāgāhī: सर्व्वज्ञानत्वं). Cf. Q 2.29 وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ.

15 . visptuvānīh (vīsptvạnī: सर्व्वशक्तित्वं). Cf. Q 2.20 إِنَّ اللَّه عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ.

16 . vehīh (vahī: उत्तमत्वं) ≈ Arab. فضل.

17 . abaxšāyandīh (aβaxšāiṇdī: क्षमावत्त्वं). Cf. Q 2.173 إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ.

18 . Cf. Q 2.107 اللَّهَ لَهُ مُلْكُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالأَرْضِ, 114. 2 مَلِكِ النَّاسِ, 6.164 وَهُوَ رَبُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ.

20-26. Further: If he be victorious, prevailing and dominating[19], then over whom are his victory, prevalence and domination? For victory and prevalence are over the enemies who take the opposite side in a conflict. It is not proper to be oneself the enemy who takes the opposite side towards his own. As long as there is no enemy and opponent over whom he becomes victorious and prevalent, victory and prevalence will not be attributed to him. For even cattle and sheep, when they have no adversary and injurer, are prevailing and victorious over themselves!

27-29. Further: Is he contented[20] and acquainted with[21] his divinity and grandeur[22], or not? If he be contented and acquainted with, then he is contented to make enemies and criminals knowingly and voluntarily, and to cause a disturbance in the world, and to be content with the misery of the world and creatures. But is it proper to want them crime and calamity, and to be indeed their enemy and curser, and to make man calamitous and hellish?

30-33. Further: Whatever he says, does he speak truthfully and credibly, or not? If he speak truthfully and credibly, then when he says that “I am a friend of good deed[23] and an enemy of crime[24]”[25], and however he creates more crime and criminals

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[19] . Cf. Q 54.55 فِي مَقْعَدِ صِدْقٍ عِندَ مَلِيكٍ مُّقْتَدِرٍ, 12.39 اللَّهُ الْوَاحِدُ الْقَهَّارُ.

[20] . hunsand (x^{v}arasaṇd: संतोषी) ≈ Arab. راضي.

[21] . dānāg ud hunsand (dānā x^{v}arasaṇd: ज्ञानी संतोषी) ≈ رضى الله … فعلم.

[22] . vazurgīh (vazurgī: महत्त्वेन). Cf. Q 4.34 إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيًّا كَبِيرًا.

[23] . kirbag (kərbaa: पुण्ये) ≈ Arab. إحسان.

[24] . bazag (bažaa: पापे) ≈ Arab. سوء, (فساد).

than good deed and benefactors, then where is his truthful speaking?

34-36. Further: Is his will good, or evil? If his will be evil, then from what is his divinity? If his will be good, then why are the evil ones and evil more than the good ones and good?

37-44. Further: Is he merciful, or not? If he be not merciful, then from what is his divinity? If he be merciful, then why does he say that “I sealed[26] the heart, ears and eyes of men, so that it is not possible for them to think, speak or do anything but that which is desired by me”[27]. Some of them were by chance[28] made great and free (noble); and some others were killed and annihilated by many kinds of death, and were thrown to eternal hell. “So that those whom I make anew, become good and pious”. Now those who were made anew, are, except a few, much more criminal and more sinful than those who were before.

45-51. Further: If whatever he does, he does with wisdom and with (good) reason, then when he had no opponent and adversary, as soon as he prepared the creation of the first [man],

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[25] . Cf. Q 2.195 وَأَحْسِنُوَاْ إِنَّ اللّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ (5.93), 3.148 فَآتَاهُمُ اللّهُ ثَوَابَ الدُّنْيَا وَحُسْنَ ثَوَابِ الآخِرَةِ وَاللّهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ; 2.205 وَاللّهُ لاَ يُحِبُّ الْفَسَادَ, 28.77 إِنَّ اللَّهَ لا يُحِبُّ الْمُفْسِدِينَ.

[26] . āvišt (haβast: विमुद्रितवान्). Pers. āvāš- ≈ Arab. ختم.

[27] . Cf. Q 2.7 خَتَمَ اللّهُ عَلَى قُلُوبِهمْ وَعَلَى سَمْعِهِمْ وَعَلَى أَبْصَارِهِمْ غِشَاوَةٌ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ, 6.46 قُلْ أَرَأَيْتُمْ إِنْ أَخَذَ اللّهُ سَمْعَكُمْ وَأَبْصَارَكُمْ وَخَتَمَ عَلَى قُلُوبِكُم مَّنْ إِلَهٌ غَيْرُ اللّهِ يَأْتِيكُم بِهِ انظُرْ كَيْفَ نُصَرِّفُ الآيَاتِ ثُمَّ هُمْ يَصْدِفُونَ, 45.23 أَفَرَأَيْتَ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إِلَهَهُ هَوَاهُ وَأَضَلَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ وَخَتَمَ عَلَى سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَن يَهْدِيهِ مِن بَعْدِ اللَّهِ أَفَلا تَذَكَّرُونَ. Cf. also Deut. (Deharim) 29.3.

[28] . ped handāz ‘incidentally’.

why did his servants turn, to demoniacal disobedience toward the (first) man[29], and to the infidelity deserving hell?

If he did not know that they would turn, then it is convenient (to suppose that) he resorted to trial [and error]. Because he has prepared many thousands and ten-thousands so that they may serve him and honour his lordship[30], but all have become disobedient and heedless[31]. For people, with their little knowledge, cannot prepare and fashion (things) according to their will, and however, if they prepare and fashion something which does not so appear and become as is their will, they do not insist to prepare it again, but they keep themselves from doing it again. Whereas the omnipotent and omniscient lord, of the numerous and innumerable things he has hitherto made and prepared, not even one appears and becomes as is his will, and yet still he does not keep himself from preparing and creating anew.

52-60. As the creator prepared the first angel[32], on account of respect out of fire[33], for several thousand years, as they say, [the angel] served him through worship. At last, (the first angel) did disobey only one command that was given by him thus: “Pay

[29] . mardōm ‘man; mankind’ [nax^{v}istēn mardōm ‘the first man’ = (Man.) noxvīr] ≈ آدم.

[30] . Cf. Q 51.56 وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالإِنسَ إِلاَّ لِيَعْبُدُونِ.

[31] . a-niyūš-handarz lit. ‘not-listening-to-admonition’.

[32]. frēstagān (frīstagą: गणान). Pers. frēstag ‘messenger, apostle; angel’ ≈ Arab. ملأک. Cf. 7.11, 15.31, 17.61, 18.50, 20.116, 38.74. Sogd. fryštg translates Syr. ܡܠܐܟܐ ‘messenger; angel’.

[33]. ātaš ≈ نار, cf. Q 7.12 قَالَ أَنَاْ خَيْرٌ مِّنْهُ خَلَقْتَنِي مِن نَّارٍ.

homage to this first man whom I prepared out of clay!"[34] And he, reasonably, apologized as to what ought not to pay (homage).[35] Then he (the creator) despised and humiliated him with hurt and curse and wrath[36], and turned him into the state of a demon and a devil[37], and sent him out of heaven, and gave him several millennia of perpetual life and dominion[38], so that: "I will go and make your servants astray and deluded"[39]. Thus [god] made him voluntarily injurer and adversary.[40]

61-75. Later on, the man to whom the supreme angel and many other worshippers were ordered to pay homage, on account of respect and honour, was put in the garden of paradise[41], so that he may cultivate and eat all the produce, except of that one tree of which he ordered thus: "You shall not eat of it!"[42] He prepared with them (the first man and woman) a deceiver and seducer, and let him into the garden. Some say he is a serpent[43], and some say he is Ahrmen (Satan)[44]. God himself gave to men the nature of eating and greediness. Then the seducer deceived them saying: "Eat of that tree!" Some say [he addressed] Adam. And they ate through the nature of eating.

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34. Cf. Q 2.34, 7. 11-12. Cf. Dk iii, ch. 241.

35 . Cf. Q 7.13, 15.26-28, 38-76.

36 . Cf. Q 2.18.

37 . dēvīh ud druzīh (dəβī u drūžī: देवत्वे द्रूजत्वेच). Cf. Q 2.34 إِبْلِيس.

38 . Cf. Q 15.37-38.

39 . Cf. Q 2.16-17, 7.16-17, 15.39, 38.82.

40 . Cf. Q 58.10.

41 . bōyesān ī vahišt (bōstąn i vahəšt: उद्यानेच स्वर्ग्गभुवनस्य) ≈ جنّة، جنات الفردوس 'the gardens of Paradise'.

42 . Cf. Q 7.19. Cf. also Gen. (Bérésit), 2.15-17.

43 . mār (mār: सर्प्पं) ≈ Arab. حيّة, Syr. ܚܘܝܐ.

44 . ahrmen (Av. aŋra mainyu) ≈ شيطان (Aram. šēḍā, [illegible] = dēv).

Having eaten, they became so knowing that they discerned and knew good and evil[45]. Because of that one injunction which they forgot, and he himself was the cause of that forgetfulness, he deprived him of that enormous respect and honour, and he forced him with his wife out of the garden of paradise by grievous wrath and disrespect[46], and delivered them to the hands of the enemy who is deceiver and seducer, to impose his own will on them and to gain control of them.

78-87. Now, which injustice, unreasonable order[47], slowness-in-wisdom[48], and little knowledge are more wrongful and more calamitous than that? Moreover, why did not he make that garden so fortified and firm that that seducer could not have gone into it? Henceforth, he (the seducer) has seduced and seduces many servants and worshippers [of the creator]. And, for this reason [the creator] has sent from time to time, many apostles and prophets to the world, so that: "They may save my servants from the hands of that seducer, and bring them into the right path and way[49]". The apostles and prophets whose duty was the bringing of mankind into the right way and path were all

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[45] . Cf. Gen. 3.1-7. Cf. also Q 2.36, 7.20-27, 20.120-126.
[46] . Cf. Gen. 3. 23-24.

[47] . abēcimframānīh (aβə̄cimfarmąnī: निःकारणादेशत्वं) 'command without purpose'.

[48] . pasxradīh lit. 'after-wisdom' (pasxardī: अनुतापिबुद्धित्वं) ≈ pas-dānišnīh 'knowledge after the event', an epithet of Aŋra Mainyu (Bd 3, 9), cf. AV 166 durvand varanīg ī pasxrad.

[49] . rāh ud ristag ī rāst (rāh u rastaa i rāst: मार्गं प्रवाहेच सत्वे), cf. Q 1.6 اهدِنَا الصِّرَاطَ الْمُسْتَقِيمَ. Cf. also Sam (Šemūél) I 12, 23 אתכם בדרך הטובה והישרה. See 11.84 rāh ud pand ī frārōn.

slain by a horrible death or banished according to (creator's) own will[50], the original seducer and deluder is left alive for ever, and till now his will to seduce and delude is more victorious and successful than that of god. Because, those seduced and astray are much more numerous than those in the right way and not seduced.

88-92. Further: Does he do whatever he does with a motive, or not? If he does it without a motive, then he acts at random, and it is not convenient to praise him who acts at random as a wise god.[51] If he does it with a motive, then, when he had no opponent and adversary, what is the motive and reason of creating all these creatures, such as demons and men who are disobedient, who strive against his will, and who are seducer, and these innumerable useless creatures?

93-97. Further: If he knows all that is, was and will be, then he ought not to create, through his knowledge and will, anything of which he may be regretful[52], and which opposes his will and command, and becomes an adversary of his apostles who fulfil his will. If they say that: "This adversary was created good and nice in the beginning, but afterwards changed into evil and the deluding of the creatures". Then you should reply that: If he be omnipotent, why is the will of the adversary, in changing into evil and the deluding of the creatures, more prevailing and more

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[50] . Cf. Luke 11.49 Ἀποστελῶ εἰς αὐτοὺς προφήτας καὶ ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενοῦσιν καὶ διώξουσιν. Cf. also Matthew 23.34.

[51] . Cf. VIII.48.

[52] . Cf. VIII.65-68.

dominating than that of god? For in the (temporal) world[53] the evil is more powerful than the good.

98-102. Further: If the criminal too be out of his will, and he himself led the minds of criminals astray, and he himself sowed the seed of crime, when [the seed of crime] grew from the root, he slew one, and rewarded another, where then is his power of law-abidingness?

103-108. Further: Did he make and create this world with a motive, for his beatitude and for the sake of the ease and benefit of men, or without a motive, for his distress, and [for the sake of] the oppression, guilt, suffering and death of men? For if he made it without a motive, then he acted at random. An act without a motive is not acceptable on behalf of the wise. If he made it with a motive and he created for his own beatitude and for the ease and benefit of men, why then did he not bring forth prosperity and much-benefit? If his beatitude and benefit arise from the preparation of man and animal, what profit will he gain out of their slaughter and destruction?

109-114. If it was not he himself who gave the thought of crime to man, then who is he who dared to give the thought of crime contrary to his command and will? If it was he himself who gave it, and now he considers it a fault, then where is his rightfulness and intercession?

While man, with little knowledge and small wisdom, does not, as far as he is able, allow lion and wolf and other beasts into

[53] . āvām (ōγąm: युगे) ‘time, age, epoch; world’.

his plantations[54] and barren lands[55], lest they may spoil them, why has the merciful god let (/ thrown) Ahrmen (Satan) and the demons upon his own creatures, so that they have made them blind and deaf[56], astray, deceitful, and hellish?

115-117. If he did (so) for testing – as they say that "he created the evil for testing the creatures"[57]–, then why did he not know in advance man and animal? Because he whose authority is (dependent upon) testing is not to be called omniscient.

118-124. In brief: If god had no opponent and adversary, and was able to create all the creatures and creations free from harm, then why did he not create so? Or maybe did he wish it, but he was not able to do so? If he wished it, but he was not able, then he is not completely powerful. If he was able (to do so), but he did not wish it, then [he acted] unmercifully. If he knew "there will be something or someone, among these creatures and creations which I create that will not be according to my will", and however he made (the world of life), then, it is unreasonable

[54] . ābastān (āβastąn: गोस्थानेषु. Skt. gosthāna 'cow-pen'). Fars. آبست /ābast/ 'prepared land or soil', cf. Dk iii, M195 mardōm nasā ud hixr ud rīmanīh az ābast zamīg bē barend.

[55] . rēdagān (rədagąn: डिंभेषु . Skt. ḍimba- 'new-born child; young animal') 'uncultivated lands' (or, rēdakān 'young ones'?).

[56] . kōr ud karr renders Av. kaoyąm karafnąmca (Cf. Y9.18. Zand: kayak ud karab – hān kē ped tis ī yazdān kōr ud karr). Cf. ^{T}S9 cōn-š kōr ud karr kird abē-uš ud vīftag ...

[57] . Q 67.3 says that God created death and life so that he may try men – which of them is best in deeds. Cf. also 21.35 كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ وَنَبْلُوكُم بِالشَّرِّ وَالْخَيْرِ فِتْنَة 'every soul (person) will taste of death. We try you by evil and good by way of temptation'.

to be constantly so discontented and angry[58] with his own (creatures), and to curse[59] them, and to cast them away for punishment in hell.[60]

125-131. Further: If the crime in thought, crime in word, crime in deed, and the sin which man thinks, speaks, and does, as well as aching, illness, poverty, and the punishment and calamity of hell, all of these are not possible to exist except through the will and command of god, as long as the will and power of god are eternal, because his essence is also eternal, it is then certain that, for ever, there is no hope for any one to be saved from calamity and punishment.[61] For it is thoroughly evident that there is no teacher or master whatever who keeps him away from this wicked and evil will, if, Heaven forbid, that (poor man) follow the advice of the apostles and religious authorities, i.e. "Commit no crime and sin!". For they intend to reject the will and command of god.

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[58] . xēšm (xašm: कोपः) 'anger, wrath' ≈ Arab. غضب. Cf. Q 4.93 وَغَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَعَنَهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُ عَذَابًا عَظِيمًا 'God is wroth against him and he has cursed him and prepared for him an awful doom.' See 5.60.

[59] . nifrīngarīh (nifrīngarī: शापश्च) 'cursing'. Pers. nifrīdan ≈ Arab. لعن . Cf. Q 2.88 لَّعَنَهُمُ اللَّه 'God has cursed', cf. also Q 4.52, 11.18, 33.57.

[60] . pādifrāh ī dušox (pādafrāh i dōžax: निग्रहे नरकस्य). Cf. Q 4.93 فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَالِدًا 'his reward is hell for ever'.

[61] . Cf. Q 4.14 يُدْخِلْهُ نَارًا خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَلَهُ عَذَابٌ مُّهِينٌ 'he will make him (infidel) enter fire (= hell), where he will dwell for ever; his will be a shameful doom', 4.169 طَرِيقَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدًا 'the road of hell, wherein they will abide for ever'. Cf. also Q 5.85, 43.74, 72.23, 98.6.

132. Likewise: As both crime and good deed are his will, it is not clear whether he approves the good deeds of the good doing, or the crimes of the criminal.[62]

133-143. Likewise: The physicians who, in the hope of (the salvation of) the soul, prepare medicines for the sick, and remove and dispel their pain and sickness, so that owing to that action they possess merit; however they are made ready for the punishment of hell. Those who, for the love of the soul, give something to the poor, needy, helpless, and thereby remove want and poverty from them and release them from (these calamities), so that owing to that action they possess merit; however they certainly have (charge of) grievous sin. If they state that: "The physicians who concoct remedies, and those who give things to the poor and helpless, all this is through the will of god[63]", then if god be without an adversary and without an opponent, then it is easier and more reasonable and more appropriate for him not to create sickness and poverty, than this: He himself makes them sick and poor, and he commands people thus: "Do make them healthy and free from want".

144-148. If they say that "His will is this that he may recompense the physicians and donors, in gratitude for their

[62] . According to the Qur'ān Allah himself leads astray the "hypocrites" (منافقين) and "wrong-doers" (ظالمين). See Q 4.88 أَن تَهْدُواْ مَنْ أَضَلَّ اللَّهُ 'See ye to guide him whom Allah has led astray?', 14.27 وَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ الظَّالِمِينَ وَيَفْعَلُ اللَّهُ مَا يَشَاء 'God led wrong-doers astray –God does what he will'. Cf. also 4.143, 7.186, 17.97, 30.29, 45.23. Anyway Allah leads astray whom he wills, and he guides whom he wills, cf. Q 14.4 فَيُضِلُّ اللَّهُ مَن يَشَاء وَيَهْدِي مَن يَشَاء وَهُوَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ.

[63] . According to the Qur'ān Allah does what he wills, cf. Q 2.253 اللَّهَ يَفْعَلُ مَا يُرِيدُ, and all things are from Allah, cf. Q 4.78 كُلٌّ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ.

goodness[64], and make them proceed to Paradise and eternal beatitude"[65], then notice that: How unlawfully and weakly he acts when, willing beneficence and prosperity for only one servant, he makes many innocents indigent (/ oppressed), poor, needy, sick, and calamitous! Moreover, if he be not able to bring beneficence and prosperity to one, except by indigence (/ oppression) and pain and harm to the other, then he does not deserve to be empowered, successful, and free from opposition.

149-154. If they say that: "He makes the sick and the poor proceed in the world of thought, and as a recompense[66], to Paradise and eternal beatitude", then (notice that), if he be not able to give the recompense in the world of thought, except through the calamity in the world of life, then he is not almighty. Moreover, his production of indigence (/ violence) in the world of life is doubtless, precipitate, and unreasonable, but the recompense (in) the world of life is doubtful, unbelievable and after the production of indigence (/ violence). Since the previous violence is without a motive, the subsequent recompense will be alike without a motive and absurdly. Moreover, no subsequent liberty (/ nobility) is found after a previous violence without a cause.

155-158. Further: One of these three states is inevitably right: The things that are, or were, or will be in the world, are all by his will, or they are not, or there are some that are by his will

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[64] . Cf. Q 4.114 لاَّ خَيْرَ فِي كَثِيرٍ مِّن نَّجْوَاهُمْ إِلاَّ مَنْ أَمَرَ بِصَدَقَةٍ أَوْ مَعْرُوفٍ أَوْ إِصْلاحٍ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ وَمَن يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ ابْتِغَاء مَرْضَاتِ اللَّهِ فَسَوْفَ نُؤْتِيهِ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا.

[65] . Cf. Q 5.85 فَأَثَابَهُمُ اللَّهُ بِمَا قَالُواْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا الأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا وَذَلِكَ جَزَاء الْمُحْسِنِينَ.

[66] . pādāšn (pādadahišni: प्रसाददानं) ≈ Arab. أجر.

and there are some that are not. For nothing whatever is found which is not good, or evil, or a mixture of both.

159-176. If they say that “all (things are according to) his will”[67], then good and evil are both his will. If good and evil be both his will, he is of imperfect will, he is not perfect even as to one (good or evil). He who is of imperfect will may be of imperfect essence, as is shown above.

If nothing be according to his will, on account of nothing being according to his will, he is will-less. He who is will-less, his action is natural (or, instinctive). He whose action is natural, he has received a nature and is made. If some be according to his will, and some be not according to his will, (and if) nothing be found in the world which is neither good nor evil[68], then, if god be of good will, it is acknowledged that he is not malevolent, and that which is evil is not according to his will; and if he be of evil will, then he is inevitably not benevolent, and that which is good is not according to his will. If that which is good be according to the will of god, it is acknowledged that that which is evil is from the will of another one. If that which is evil be according to his will, then that which is good is inevitably from the will of another one. It is (then) inevitable and manifest the contrary of the will of god.

177-196. If one says that “the evil originates from man”[69], then since the essence of man did not always exist, it is

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67 . Cf. Q 4.78 كُلًّ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ.

68 . Cf. Q 8.100.

69 . Cf. Q 4.79 أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ فَمِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِن سَيِّئَةٍ فَمِن نَّفْسِكَ ‘whatever of good befalleth thee (O man) it is from Allah, and whatever of evil befalleth thee it is from thyself.’

inevitable that evil existed before man, or after, or it was concomitant with man. If they say that “it was before man”, then, since there was no other creator of spiritual and material (worlds) apart from god, then, either god created evil, or it created its own essence, or it was itself eternal. If they say that “it was after man”, then, since human substance is likewise a creation of god, and god did not create the evil of man in his substance, how does evil originate, by (human) activities, from him? If by his activities man produced evil in spite of the will of god, and god was well aware of this production by man, then it is manifest that god is imperfect in his will, and man is prevailing and victorious in repelling the will and command of god, and in committing evil contrary to the will of god, and the power of god in his own will and his servants is feeble. If they claim that “he makes them proceed afterwards to the hard punishment[70] of hell[71]”[72], then, if god be an agent endowed with power, then not to let men commit crime but to expel it from their hearts (/ thoughts) would be more advantageous and more befitting to the clemency of god than to let them commit. It is inevitable that he was contented with it (i.e., with the committal of crime by man); and afterwards he contentedly punishes his own creatures. Indeed, (if) I consider one (principle), then either

[70] . (dušox) pādifrāh (dōžax pādafrāh: नरकनिग्रहेषु) ≈ Arab. عذاب.

[71]. dušox ≈ Arab. جهنم.

[72] . In fact the Qur’ān says “he forgives whom he will, and punishes whom he will.’ Cf. 3.129 يَغْفِرُ لِمَن يَشَاء وَيُعَذِّبُ مَن يَشَاء. In another passage it is said that Allah will afflict the infidel in the world and the Hereafter, cf. 9.74 يُعَذِّبْهُمُ اللَّهُ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ. Anyway, Allah is sever in punishment (وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعَذَابِ 2.165, اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ 2.196). Cf. also 4.140 إِنَّ اللَّهَ جَامِعُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْكَافِرِينَ فِي جَهَنَّمَ جَمِيعًا ‘Allah will gather hypocrites and disbelievers, all together, into hell’, 9.68 نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ ‘fire of hell for their eternal abode’.

impotence, or little knowledge, or scanty goodness becomes manifest.

197-204. If they say that: “God spiritually and materially created evil for the reason that man may appreciate goodness”, then you should notice that, if evil be requisite and advantageous for appreciating goodness, then his will is (both) good and evil. If his will be evil and good, and (evil) be requisite and advantageous, then this is in contradiction with what they say that “evil is not (through) his will”.[73] Concerning that also which they say that: “He created death, pain and poverty for the reason that people may much more appreciate life, health and opulence, and become more thankful unto god”, you should notice that, taking such actions is unreasonable, after the manner of him who gives poison to people for the sake of increasing the value and price of an antidote[74], so that he may sell the antidote more expensive and more costly. What kind of interceding act is this that in order to make known the value of goodness to some people, he lets pain and death and calamity come on some innocent people?

205-216. Further: A group of them state that: “God is sovereign over every creature and creation, because the creations all belong to him. If he exercise [his authority] over them as he

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[73] . From the book of Ašʿarī (concerning the Muʿtazilites):

«بسیاری از معتزله گویند: خدا کودکان را رنجور سازد تا بزرگسالان عبرت گیرند، سپس در آخرت ایشان را پاداش دهد ... پیروان نظریهٔ لطف گویند خدا کودکان را در این جهان اساساً به خاطر پاداشی که بدیشان خواهد داد عذاب دهد. البته اگر بی آن که آزارشان دهد مشمول پاداش قرار دهد بهتر است. ولی خدا مجبور نیست که در همهٔ کارها بهترین را برگزیند.» ابوالحسن الاشعری، مقالات الاسلامیین و اختلاف المصلین، م. مؤیدی، تهران، ۱۳۶۲، ۱۳۶.

[74] . For the analogy of “God & Hyle: antidote & poison”, cf. Augustine, Contra Faustum, XXI, 16.

desires, and whatsoever he desires, he is not oppressor. Because, oppression is that which one inflicts upon something which does not belong to him. Then, he who possesses all things, exercises over them as he desires, and is not oppressor".[75]

You should therefore know this that: If, on account of sovereignty, he who oppresses is not to be called oppressor, then he who is a sovereign and tells a lie, is veracious; and he who, on account of sovereignty, commits crime, sin, theft and robbery is not to be called a sinner. As the blessed Rōšn, son of Ādarfarrōbay[76], related as a parable:

«They saw a man who was fucking an ass. When they asked him:

Why do you commit this obscene act?

He replied thus, in excuse: The ass belongs to me. »

217-221. Again, you should ask them: Is god a friend, or an enemy, to these creatures and creations which he has created?

If he be a friend of creatures, then it is not convenient to him to desire and create the misery and calamity of the creatures, and

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[75] . This is the opinion of the Ahl al-Uṣūl (lit. 'fundamentalist'). Cf. Šahrestānī

«وأما العدل فعلى مذهب أهل السنة أن الله تعالى عدلٌ فى أفعاله، بمعنى أنه متصرف فى مُلكه و مِلكه، يفعل مايشاء و يحكم مايريد. فالعدل: وضع الشىء موضعه، و هو التصرف فى الملک على مقتضى المشيئة والعلم، والظلم بضده، فلا يتصور منه جور فى الحكم وظلم فى التصرف.» الملل والنحل، الجزء الاول، (القاهرة، ۱۳۹۶/ ۱۹۷۶، ۴۲).

Ašʿarī says the same thing:

«قال: ... وهو المالک فى خلقه يفعل ما يشاء، ويحكم ما يريد. فاو أدخل الخلائق بأجمعهم الجنة لم يكن حيفا. ولو أدخلهم النار لم يكن جوراً، إذ الظلم هو التصرف فيما لا يملكه المتصرف. أو وضع الشىء فى غير موضعه، وهو المالک المطلق فلا يتصور منه ظلم، ولا ينسب إليه جور.» (۱۰۱)

[76] . See 10, 53-54.

to be never satisfied of the disturbance and calamity of his own creations. If he be an enemy of the creatures, then it is not convenient to him to create, through his power and knowledge, that thing which behaves like an enemy, and strives against his will.

222-244. This also you should ask: Is god always an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom (/ nobility), or an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor, or sometimes an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom, and sometimes an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor?

If he be always an erudite, good sovereign, and producing freedom, then there is not, in his kingdom and sovereignty any tyranny, oppression, or complaint; and his friendship towards the creatures and the friendship of the creatures towards him are sincere. For this reason, he is merciful to his creatures, and his creatures are thankful, praise him, and are sincere friends towards him. Thus he deserves the name of “god”[77].

If he be an ignorant, bad sovereign, and oppressor, then he is a true enemy to the creatures, and his creatures are alike (enemy) to him. For that very reason, he is a corruptor, destroyer, and seducer of the creatures, and his creatures complain of him, strive against him, and are his true enemies. And he does not deserve the name of “god”. Since he is eternal, the creatures have no hope to be made free from fear of oppression and calamity to all eternity.

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[77] . yazd (yazat̰: इअजदः). Pers. yazd (Av. yazata- ‘worthy of worship’) ≈ Syr. ܐܠܗܐ.

If he be sometimes a good sovereign, erudite, and producing freedom, and sometimes the reverse, then his friendship towards the creatures is mingled. From a mingled friendship appears mingled action, and from a mingled action a mingled essence. His creatures also are mingled friends towards him. One’s rival, not if he be a friend, is not an enemy, not if he be a thankful, is not a complaining one, not if he be a praiser, is not one who blames him, that’s the way it is among all natural creatures, it is manifest.

245-249. Further: Since all things, in the world (of life), are not outside of these two (descriptive) names, good and evil, if good and evil be said to be from god and out of god’s will[78], then the poor Ahrmen (Satan) who is not sinful nor the principle (of evil), and never was, nor will be evil and rebellious, is unreasonably defamed. That which is mentioned in the Qur’ān[79] that “Ahrmen (Satan) became rebellious, and they (= He) put him out of heaven”[80] is unreasonable. Because even that rebellion and disobedience were likewise out of god’s will.

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78 . Cf. بیان الادیان , concerning the belief of the Sunnites :

«گویند نیکی و بدی به ارادت ایزد تعالی است.» ابوالمعالی، تهران، ۱۳۷۶، ۴۶.

79 . nibēg (niβə̄ : आगमे). Pers. nibēg ‘writing, book, scripture’. Fars. نبی, نوی (nivē) ‘scripture; Qur’ān’.

«نوی کلام خدا و مصحف و قرآن مجید باشد» (برهان قاطع). «عامر با پیغمبر حدیث اسلام همی کرد و از ذکر و نوی همی گفت. و پیغمبر علیه السلام آیتی چند بر او خواند». تاریخنامهٔ طبری (گردانیده منسوب به بلعمی)، ویراسته م. روشن، ۱، تهران، ۱۳۶۶، ۳۰۱.

80 . Concerning the disobedience of Satan and his expulsion from Paradise, cf. Q 7.11-18, 15.31-34, 17.61-63, 18.50, 20.116, 38.74-77.

250-252. Even if it be said that “the good comes from god, and out of god’s will, and the evil from man”[81], then Ahrmen is not the principle (of evil) nor he is sinful; and the curse on him and the blame of him are unreasonable. If, Heaven forbid, all this calamity and evil be, not out of a different substance, but out of one substance and from the essence of god himself, then god is his own enemy and adversary.

253-254. Further: To speak of “the existence of crime without a substance of crime” is very puzzling, as it is puzzling to suppose evil out of the substance of good is deluding, then it is more puzzling to suppose Ahrmen who is the origin and principle of every crime out of the spiritual and material creation of god.

255-259. In short: If there be nothing which is not within the will of god, and if everything be out of the will of god[82], no one is sinner, and also there is no reason to send the prophet and religion. If it be convenient to condemn any one for sinfulness, it is more convenient to condemn him who is the original agent, keeper and creator of every evil and crime. If it be said that evil and crime come from Ahrmen or man, and since they are likewise created by god, then the source – i.e., he who is the source (original cause) of evil– is worse than evil.

260-263. This also you should notice that: All sects attribute this saying to their (religious) authorities and apostles prescribed

[81] . Cf. Q 4. 79 مَّا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةٍ فَمِنَ اللَّهِ وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِن سَيِّئَةٍ فَمِن نَّفْسِكَ.

[82] . Cf. Q 4.78 كُلًّ مِّنْ عِندِ اللَّهِ ‘all things are from Allah’.

to their own “community”[83]: “Perform good deeds, abstain from crime!” On account of seduction, they do not think this that: From where and from what principle does proceed the crime about which it is commanded that “You shall not commit it, and I will cast him who commits it into eternal hell”? For if (the crime) be out of god, then it would be easier for him not to create it, than, after having created it and made it manifest, to command us to abstain from it. Thus, I do not find any advantage and cause in the spiritual and material creation of evil.

264-279. Moreover: In their Scriptures about good deed and crime there are contradictory statements, (for example) : “Good deed and crime proceed both from me. Neither demons, nor sorcerers are capable to harm any one, no one who accepts religion or does good, and no one who walks in infidelity or commits crime, except through my will”. In the same scripture (Qur’ān), he threatens a lot and utters curses on the creatures thus: “Why do men will and commit that crime which I will for them?” The will and act are in his own hands, and even so he frightens them with punishment in body and soul. In another place he states thus: “I myself am the seducer of people. For if it be my will, I would show them the right way, but it is my will that they go to hell”[84]. And in another place he states thus: “Man himself is the agent of crime”.[85]

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[83] . ram (ram: यूथेषु). Pers. ram ‘herd, crowd, people, community’ ≈ Syr. ܥܡܐ ‘people, nation; populace, crowd’, Arab. امة.

[84] . Cf. Q 7.178, 14.4, 6.125.
[85] . Cf. Q 4.79.

In these three manners, god gives different evidences about his creatures:

– One is this that he himself is Ahrmen (Satan).
– One is this that he is himself the seducer of the creatures.
– On the other hand, he himself falls in with Ahrmen in seducing the creatures, when he states thus: “Sometimes I do (commit crime), sometimes Ahrmen does”.

Through that which he states that “Man himself commits crime”, he joins his own with Ahrmen in avoiding crime. For if men commit crime because of their substance and their own misleading, then god, with Satan, is far from the crime. Because, as it is not because of god, it is not even because of Ahrmen.

280-281. Again: You should ask those celled Muʿtazilites thus: Is it the will of god for people to abstain from crime, through their free will, to be saved from hell, and to lead them forward to heaven[86], or not?

282-287. If one says that “it is not (his will)”, then he affirms the little goodness of god and the wickedness of his will. For this reason, he is not worthy to be praised as a divinity. If one says that “it is his will”, then he affirms the good will of god. For this reason, he is worthy to be praised as a divinity.

288-294. Besides: “Is he capable to fulfil his will, or not?”

If one says that “he is not”, then he affirms the incapability of god (to fulfil) his will. For this reason, he is not worthy to be

[86] . Cf. the concept of *aṣlaḥ* proposed by Abū l-Hu̱ḏayl.

praised as an almighty divinity. If one says that “he is capable of fulfilling his will”, then he affirms the capability of god (to fulfil) his will. For this reason, he is worthy to be praised as an almighty divinity.

295-302. Further: When he is capable of fulfilling his will, does he fulfil it, or not? If one says that “he fulfils it”, then the abstaining from sin, being saved from hell, and attaining heaven would be manifest for all people. But the reality is not manifest so, and makes (or, proves) his religion false.

If one says that “he is capable of fulfilling his will, but does not fulfil it”, then he affirms the mercilessness of god, his misanthropy, and his failure to fulfil his will. For if he fulfil it, then it is no loss to him, and is a profit to people, and his will is fulfilled. If he do not fulfil it, then it is no profit to him, and it is a loss to people, and he fails to fulfil his will.

303-308. Further: Does he not fulfil it willingly, or unwillingly? If one says that “he does not fulfil it willingly”, then he affirms that god is good-willed, but has no will to do good. Since this statement is contradictory, to think it is even wrong.

If one says that “he is unwilling, therefore does not fulfil it”, then he affirms the weakness of god *per se*, or the existence of the injurer of his will.

309-317. In short: [If] this world of life had a director who was without opponent, without rival, and perfect in wisdom and goodness and power, then there would not be all these unfair deeds, oppression, calamity, pain and sorrow (of which suffer)

most of men and other creatures. Because, when a director is without opponent, and perfect in wisdom, he knows means for evil not to exist, and also remedies for removing evil. When he is perfect in goodness and merciful, he first of all has no will for the existence of evil, but rather the will for its non-existence. When he is perfect in power, he has the power (to prevent) any evil from coming into existence.

Now, as in the world of life whose director is god, the existence of evil is undoubtedly obvious, we are faced with this alternative: Either the director has an opponent, or has not an opponent. When he does not know means for evil not to exist, and remedies for removing evil, the imperfect wisdom of god is thereby proved. Or, his will is both evil and good, the imperfect goodness of his will is proved. Or he is not able to prevent the existence of evil, and to remove it, then the imperfect power of god is proved. When he is imperfect in even one (of the qualities), wisdom, goodness, or power, then he is not worthy to be praised and worshipped as a divinity that is omnipotent, all-good, and omniscient.

318-328. You should know this also: Since any existing thing which is acting and willing, is not capable (of acting or willing) except if it be provided with qualities, then if the original existence of the creator be divinity, and his attributes be light, beauty, fragrance, purity, goodness, and wisdom, then darkness, ugliness, stench, filth, wickedness, and ignorance, which are the demoniacal qualities, ought to be far from him. If his original existence and quiddity be devilry, and his qualities be darkness, ugliness, stench, filth, wickedness and ignorance, then the qualities of divinity remain strange to him. If there be any existing to whom all these (attributes) belong, and they are

mingled, inseparably, with his essence, then because of this inseparability, there is no distinction between his goodness and his own evil. In this case, the hope of the hopeful is gone out. For, he who goes to heaven through doing good, is even there in evil and calamity. Because, there also, goodness is not distinct and separate from evil. If there be the least goodness which is distinct from evil, then there will be also the evil which is distinct and separate from goodness. This is acknowledged that the difference of good and evil is because of difference of substance. When the difference and separation of the two principles, from each other, are proved, then the hope of the hopeful will be true, and wisdom will be their guide.

329-336. You should know this also: Every word which is not (used) according to its definition (limit)[87], is amorphous and meaningless (?). Likewise, the limit of "divinity" is principally wisdom. The limit of "wisdom" is one (thing, i.e.,) beneficial action. A beneficial action is not an action inflicting loss. There are three manners of inflicting loss:

– One is that which does not benefit oneself and inflicts loss to oneself.

– <One is that which does not benefit another, but inflicts loss to oneself>.

– One is that which inflicts loss to oneself and also to another.

337-338. From the creation of Ahrmen and the demons there is no benefit for the god who acts wisely, but there is even loss

[87] . vimand 'limit; definition' ≈ Arab. حدّ. See 3.8.

for others; and failure to fulfil his own will, owing to his own action, is revealed.

339-351. Moreover: If the will of god be goodness, and his will be perpetual, and he be able (to fulfil) what is convenient to his will, then, from the beginning to the end, all the goodness and righteousness in the world would have proceeded (according to) the will of god. Now it is manifest that wickedness and unrighteousness proceed much more. Therefore, we are faced with this alternative: Either they proceed through the will of god, or against his will. If they proceed through the will of god, then it is manifest that his will is for wickedness as well as for goodness. Or he is feeble and changeable in will. Since a will does not change, unless because of a cause or because of a changer, then, one of these two [is true]: Either, his will changes because of a cause; or, there is another one who changes his will. If they do not proceed through the will of god, then it is manifest that god is poor in his own will, and his will is not perfect; or, there is some injurer who wards his will off.

352-358. As to this also which they say that "god commanded Adam thus: You should not eat of this one tree which is in paradise", you should ask them: The command which god gave to Adam, i.e. "you should not eat of this tree", was it good or evil? If the command were good, it is manifest that the tree was evil, and it is not proper for god to create any thing that is evil. If the tree were good, the command was evil, then it is not proper for god to give an evil command. If the tree were good, and in spite of this, he commanded them to not eat it, then it is not proper for god's goodness and mercifulness to keep a benefit away from his own innocent servants.

359-370. As to this also which they say that: “God guides every one whom he wills to the right way and belief, and, as the recompense, he leads him to the eternal beatitude; and him whom he does not will, he leaves him in irreligion and godlessness, and for this reason, he casts him into the eternal hell and calamity”[88], you should ask them: Is he good whose desire and will are for the religion and faith in god and the right way, or he whose desire and will are for the misguidance, irreligion and godlessness? If one says that “he is good whose desire and will are for the religion of god and the right way”, now as to that man god wills him to be left in irreligion and misguidance and godlessness, [but] an apostle or another philanthropist invite him to adhere to the religion of god and the right way, is god better and more advantageous to that man, or that apostle and or that man (philanthropist)? If he says that “the will of god is better to him”, then he implicitly affirms that “not acknowledging god, not adhering to the religion, and being misguided are good”. This is false and unacceptable [and not worthy to be taught]. But if he says that “coming to the right way and acknowledging god are better and more advantageous to him”, then he explicitly affirms that “the apostle and philanthropist are better to him than god”. Because, a man who desires and wills the right way and theism for men, is much better than that god, who wills error and agnosticism and irreligion for them; hence god is much worse than that man.

371-373. Further: If the crime in thought and the crime in action of men be according to god’s will, now that god created the crime in thought and sowed crime in their mind, and Ahrmen (Satan) merely invites and hastens them to the committal of

[88] . Cf. Q 14.4.

crime, then the crime in thought which is out of god and god's desire for it is even stronger and worse than the invitation of Satan. If their listening to Satan as to the committal of crime is due to the crime in thought which god created, and [their committal of crime] is likewise out of [god's] desire, then it is acknowledged that god is much worse and more sinful than Ahrmen.

374-377. As regards these sayings which we have enumerated, there are three possibilities:

– Either, all [sayings] are true;
– or, all are false;
– or, some are true and some are false.

378-382. If all be true, every saying that does not agree with these sayings is false. One of these two things [must be satisfied]: truth and falsehood. If all be false, every saying that does not agree with these sayings is true. [For] one of these two [must be satisfied]. If some be true and some be false, then, the true [sayings] are from the substance and family of truth, and the false [sayings] are from the substance and family of falsehood.

383. There are two origins: One from which proceeds truth, and one from which proceeds falsehood.

Seventh Chapter

12

1. Another [chapter]:

Concerning the inconsistency of their discourse, some sayings from the book of the Dēnkird.

2-30. As to that which they say that: "God is around everything[1], but nothing is inside him; he is inside everything, but nothing is around him; he is above everything, but nothing is below him; he is below everything, but nothing is above him; he sits upon a throne, but is not localised; he is inside heaven, but has no whereabouts; he is nowhere, and at the same time somewhere; he is in any place, and yet he has no place; everything is according to his will, and thus belongs to him. He is the principle of both evil and good. He is eternally merciless and clement. He prepares violence and is not violent. He has commanded him who is unable to perform (and him who is unable) to reject divine commands. He has created hellish him who is innocent, and (nevertheless) he is not cruel. He is aware of the infidelity and hellishness of some men, and he wills them thus. The good that he wills (he does not do it) or he does not will it. He has created a remedy, and is himself affliction. Or rather he has created want of remedy, and not a remedy. And yet he is free from opposition. He needs to take [men] on trial, and

[1] . Cf. Dk iii, M 130-131.

yet he is omniscient. He who rejects [his] commands does it according to his will. And he who rejects his principle, he makes him sovereign. His commands are all executed, and yet can be found those who tread on his commands, and there is some of his will which is not fulfilled. He who rejects his will, does not injure his will. He has commanded that which is not his will. The command which is not inconsistent with his will and the command which is inconsistent with his will are both righteous. His will is good, and not unfair; and his will is evil, that makes evil things, [and nevertheless] that is lawful.

31-33. There are also many other inconsistencies in the discourses of the (Islamic) sects[2]. Therefore, it is impossible that a measured religion come from these manifold inconsistent statements.

33-63. Moreover, as to that which they state thus “the dualists[3] suppose the acts of god weak and feeble, and not compatible with the grandeur of god”, on this subject, I shall clearly state some words, thus:

You should know that: Which one [of these two] has supposed divine acts weaker and feebler?

[2] . kēšān (kəšą: दर्शनानां). See 1.35.

[3]. dobunēštaghangārān (dubunyaštaaaṇgārą: द्विमूलास्यदसमालोच्चिनां). Pers. do-bunēštag-hangār ‘one who considers two principles, dualist’ ≈ Arab. أصحاب الاثنين. Syr. ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܬܘ̈ܬܐ ‘dualists; Manichaeans’. Cf. Dk iii, M 104 do-bunīh ‘dualism’, VZ 1.21 āstavānīh ī abar do-bunēšt(ag)īh. Pers. doīh ‘duality; dualism; duplicity’, see 10.1, 16.61.

– The one who states that: His own creations that were created by him, all have become disobedient to him and heedless of his advices, till even the smallest creatures strive against his will. Besides, they slew and crucified many prophets and apostles who were sent by him; and they abused, humiliated and treated with disrespect some of them. Moreover, not only his own dominion was not protected by him from the wicked created by him, but even he has himself counteracted his own dominion, and himself disturbs irremediably his own activities, and himself smites his own creations, and himself smites, by reason of his sinfulness, his own sinless servants. He himself makes his own loyal friends weak, needy, sinful, and seduced. [On account of his] anger on one sinless servant, that is Ahrmen (Satan), he makes his own innumerable creatures confused and astray. For a limited sin which is out of his own action, he puts the sinless to unlimited punishment. He shuts eternally the door of forgiveness. He is not filled with the pain, affliction, and calamity of his own creatures. He has perpetually in his possession the activity and management [of affairs]. Yet he is unable to persist in the commands which he gives in the beginning, middle or end.

– Or, the one who states thus: He is the deity (lit. 'worthy of worship') who is eternally lord, omniscient and omnipotent, whose dominion, knowledge and power are perpetual and of unlimited time. And benefit comes out of his goodness. His activities are with a motive, and his commands are advantageous. He is clement and compassionate as regards his servants, and bestows more rewards on the servant who succeeds [in dispute[4]], and forgives the sinful who, on account

[4]. See 10.74.

of his own sinfulness, becomes captive in the hands of the enemy, through absolution and cleansing from crime and filth; finally, he does not leave any good creature in captivity in the hands of the enemy. He is, with all his heart, their protector, keeper and nourishing in their battle and strife with enemies. He guards heavily his kingdom against the opponent of a different substance. His troop and army become victorious in the strife and battle, and he makes his creatures succeed, as regards every crime.

64-70. When it is observed to light, knowledge, sight, life, health and other divine creations, [it is manifest] that they are dominating and increasing over darkness, ignorance, blindness, death, sickness and other demoniacal accidents. Because, this is acknowledged that light expels all darkness, and knowledge is victorious over ignorance, and life is powerful and increasing over death. For, owing to the powerfulness and increase of life, there is the increasing of population from the [first human] couple[5]; and all acknowledge it. Likewise, the victory and power of sight and health over blindness and sickness are manifest.

71-76. It is also convenient to observe this that: what does the demon (*druj*) that is the adversary (of Yazata) want? Against what does the army of God strive?

The adversary wants thus: "Either I will annihilate this earth and sky and the creatures and luminaries, or I will bring them into my possession, and will change them from their own substance, so that God shall not be capable to prepare the

[5]. do mardōm ≈ آدم و حوّا 'Adam & Eve'.

resurrection and to bring about the renovation[6], and to restore his own creatures”.

The armies of God strive for this purpose that the adversary shall not be according to his desire and will. Moreover, the armies of God have been, since the primal creation, triumphant in strife and successful.

77-81. From this it is manifest that: God has destined this earth and sky; and it would be possible for him to annihilate all creatures and creations; but he is unable of annihilating even one of the smallest creatures of God. Because, if, by reason of death, the body be separated from the breathing soul, it is not the annihilation and change of substance from its essence, but rather is the change of accidents and the movement from place to place, from act to act. Moreover, each one of the substances of one’s body and (breathing) soul will be again, in its own substance, for other functions, as is revealed. These creatures and creations will subsist increasingly and perpetually active and advantageously until the requisite time, [as] is revealed.

82. As far as here, concerning this chapter, it seems [to me] complete.

[6] . See 1.28.

13

1-4. Another [chapter] :

Concerning the inconsistency and false discourses of the first scripture, which they call Ōryātā[1]; and about which all of them are of the same opinion, that god wrote it by his own hand and gave it to Moses. Since it comprises many errors from every evil, I shall here reveal, for your information, a few of many it contains.

5-13. In the beginning of the scripture it states thus: "At the beginning were the earth where there was chaos[2], and darkness, and black water, and the spirit of god was gliding upon the face of that black water[3]. Then god said: 'Let there be light!' and

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[1]. āzād (āžāṯ: स्वतंत्रं. Skt. sva-tantra- nt. 'self-will, freedom'). Cf. the beginning of the commentary of Išoʿdād: ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܗܢܘ. ܢܘܗܪܐ ܐܬܐ. ܐܘܪܫܠܡ. ܗܢܘ. ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ. 'Ōryātā, i.e. the light has come (into the world). Ōrešlem, i.e. light and peace'. See also 14.80.

[2] . boh ud toh (āβxūn u tąn: पयोरुधिरा विस्तीर्णा) ≈ Heb. תֹּהוּ וָבֹהוּ, Syr. ܬܘܗ ܘܒܘܗ 'inanis et vacua'. Cf. Gen. 1.2

[3] . Cf. Gen. 1, 2. Pers. āb ī syāh ≈ Mand. mayā siyāvā; Hebr. תהום 'deep abyss; the depth (of a well, river, sea)'. Pers. abar rōy ī hān āb ī syāh ≈ Syr.

there was light.[4] And the light seemed very good to him.[5] And he separated (the light from the darkness, and placed) the light for the day, and darkness for the night.[6] And, in six days, he created this world, the heaven(s)[7] and the earth. For, on the seventh day he was reposing and at rest[8],[9].

14. In like manner[10], nowadays the Jews are at rest on the Sabbath day[11].

15-17. This also: “He created Adam and his woman Eve[12], and put them into the Garden of Paradise[13] so that Adam might do work in this garden and keep it”[14].

18-20. “Adonay[15], who is god himself, commanded Adam thus: “Of every tree of the garden thou mayest eat, except of that

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ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܬܗܘܡܐ. Pers. vaxš ≈ Heb. רוח. Cf. Išoʿdād, 14: ܒܪܘܚܐ ܪܡܙܐ ܠܗ.
ܘܡܪܚܦܐ ܥܠ ܐ̈ܦܝ ܬܗܘܡܐ.

[4] . Cf. Gen. 1, 3.

[5] . Cf. Gen. 1, 4.

[6] . Cf. Gen. 1, 4-5.

[7] . asmān (āsmąn : आकाशं) ≈ Heb. הַשָּׁמַיִם.

[8] . haftum rōz haspīn ud āsān. Cf. MSīhR rōz ī āsān ≈ Syr. ܫܒܬܐ ܢܝܚܐ ‘a day of rest, Sabbath’.

[9] . Cf. Gen. 2, 1-2.

[10] . ped hān ham rāz (pa ą ham rāž: तेन सर्व्वरहस्यतया) ‘in like manner’, cf. ²rāz ‘pattern’ (and not ¹rāz ‘mystery’).

[11] . šambad (šuṇbaṯ: शनैश्चरीये) ‘Sabbath, Saturday’, Heb. שַׁבָּת, Syr. ܫܒ̣ܬܐ.

[12] . Cf. Gen. 1, 27.

[13] . bāvestān ī vahišt, cf. XI.62 bōyestān ī vahišt ≈ Heb. גן עדן, Syr. ܦܪ̈ܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܕܶܢ.

[14] . Cf. Gen. 2, 15.

tree of knowledge. For when thou eatest thereof thou shalt die."[16]

21-22. "Afterwards, he put a serpent into the garden. That serpent deceived Eve, saying: Pick [fruits] from this tree so that I eat, and give to Adam.[17]

23-28. "She did likewise. As soon as Adam ate, his knowledge was such that he distinguished good from evil. They did not die. [Adam] looked and knew that he was naked. He was hidden under a tree. And, on account of the shame of his nakedness, he put the leaves of trees on his body"[18].

29. "Afterwards, Adonay went to the garden, and called Adam by name, thus: Where art thou?[19]

30. "Adam replied thus: Here I am, under the tree, because I am naked.[20]

31-33. "Adonay became angry. He said: Who informed thee that thou wast naked, unless thou hast eaten from the tree of knowledge, whereof I said thee that thou shouldest not eat?[21]

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[15] . ādōn 𐬁𐬛𐬋𐬥 (ādīnō: आदीनः), cf. [T]M 28.10 ʾdwny, Hebr. אָדוֹן 'master, lord', Syr. ܐܕܘܢܝ 'dominus meus' (אֲדֹנָי). Adonay is the god of the Jews, אֱלֹהַי וַאדֹנָי.

[16] . Cf. Gen. 2, 16-17.

[17] . Cf. Gen. 3, 1-6.

[18] . Cf. Gen. 3, 7-8.

[19] . Cf. Gen. 3, 9.

[20] . Cf. Gen. 3, 10.

[21] . Cf. Gen. 3, 11.

34. “Adam said: The woman whom thou gavest to me beguiled me, and I did eat.[22]

35. “And Adonay asked Eve: Why hast thou done this?[23]

36. “Eve said: The serpent beguiled me.”[24]

37. “He expelled from the Garden of Paradise Adam and Eve and the snake, all three, under curses.”[25]

38-40. “He said to Adam thus: Thy eating shall be by the outpouring of thy sweat and the heaving of the nostrils, until the end of thy life, and thy land shall grow all thorns, worms, and snakes”.[26]

41. “Then unto Eve he said: Thy pregnancy shall be in pain and suffering, and thy giving birth in grievous sorrow.”[27]

42-45. “And unto the serpent he said: Thou shalt be cursed from among the quadrupeds and beasts of the plain and mountain, and thou shalt not have feet, and thy movement shall be upon thy belly, and thy food shall be dust, and between thy offspring and the woman’s there shall be such hatred and enmity that they will <smite> the head of thy offspring, <and thy offspring> will bite <the heel of the offspring of woman>.”[28]

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[22] . Cf. Gen. 3, 12.
[23] . Cf. Gen. 3, 13.
[24] . Cf. Gen. 3, 13.
[25] . Cf. Gen. 3, 17-19.
[26] . Cf. Gen. 3.17-19.
[27] . Cf. Gen. 3, 16.
[28] . Cf. Gen. 3, 14-15.

46-47. This also, they state that: “He made and created this material world, and all that is in it, for mankind, and he made man sovereign over all creatures and creations, wet and dry”[29].

48. Now I will say a little against their speech, and [about] the falsehood of their discourses:

49-58. Where and with which limits were the earth of bohū-and-tohū, darkness, god and his spirit, and the black water? Or, how was god himself? It is manifest that, he was not light. For, when he saw the light, because he had not seen it before, it seemed good to him. If they state “he was dark”[30], then it is manifest that darkness is [his] origin and family and not light. If they state “he was not dark, but light”[31], then if he himself were light, why when he saw the light did it seem astonishing to him? And if they state “he was neither light nor dark”, then they have to make known a third [state] which is neither light nor dark.

59-63. Moreover, he whose place and dwelling was in darkness and dark water, and who had never seen the light, how was he able to see light? From what is his divinity? For, even now, any one who remains in darkness, cannot see light. Further: If his base and dwelling were darkness, then how could he stand opposite the light? For, this is known that darkness cannot stand opposite the light, for [light] repels and drives it away.

64-67. Furthermore: Was that earth of bohū-and-tohū limited or unlimited? If it were limited, then what was outside of it? If it were unlimited, then whither did his unlimitedness reach? As we

[29] . Cf. Gen. 1, 26-29.
[30] . Cf. Ps. 18, 12.
[31] . Cf. Tim. 1 6, 16.

see, this earth and material world are not the same as the primal [earth and world].

68-77. As to that which Adonay said that "let there be light", and it was, it is convenient to conclude that: Adonay was before [the existence of] light. When he willed to make the light, and he commanded that it come into being, then, in mind, he thought, how might this light be, beautiful or hideous? If the light, by its qualities, was found in the knowledge and thought of Adonay, then it is manifest that light was ever alike in the knowledge and mind of Adonay, and, alike outside of him. For, it is not possible to know and find anything unless its existence be manifest. If the light were ever, then it could not have been the creation of Adonay. If they say that "light was not, by its qualities, in [his] knowledge", then he besought light without knowing how it is, [he was] totally ignorant. Or, how is it possible ever to imagine in mind something about which one has never thought or known?

78-91. This also: That command for the becoming of light, did he give it to something, or to nothing[32]? For, this is certain, that it is possible to give a command (only) to someone who is commanded. If he gave it to an existent light, then light itself already existed. And if he gave a command to a non-existent, then how did a non-existent hear the command of Adonay? Or, then how did he know that Adonay thus willed that "I should become light"? For, what did not (yet) exist did not hear the command of Adonay, since he had not yet created it. For, it is not possible to think, in any way, a non-existence. The non-

[32] . a-tis/ adis (aθis: न कस्यचित) 'nothing, Nihilum', see 15.63 nē-tis ≈ Syr. ܠܐ ܡܕܡ.

existent is destined non-existent, but the existent was wise and foresighted [so] that he knew “how Adonay wants me to become”, and he became in the manner [Adonay] wanted him to become. If they state: “The light became from the word of Adonay that he said ‘thou shalt become’, and it became”, since Adonay and his essence were dark, and he had never seen light, then how was it possible for that light to become from that word? For it is acknowledged that: word is born from mind (/ thought). If they state “his word was light”, this is very astonishing. For, it would signify that light will then be the fruit of darkness, and darkness is the seed [of light], and light is its mark. The light was hidden in the darkness. As I mentioned [above[33]], it is not possible to give a command except to someone who is commanded, [then] it is known that, light existed first, and then he could give a command.

92-99. Further: He has arranged and created these creatures and creations, the heaven(s) and earth, in six days. The seventh (day) he rested therefrom. If he created this world not from something, but only from this command, ‘thou shalt become’, and it became, what is then the reason of this length of six days? For, if his labour were only as much as to say ‘thou shalt become’, then that length of six days was very unlikely, and [so much] toil could not have come to him therefrom. If it be possible to make the non-existent exist, he is capable to create even without delay. And if he be incapable to create except through the days and hours, then it is not fitting to say that he created out of non-existent[34].

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[33]. See 12.79.

[34] . az nēst ‘ex nihilo’, see 15.63 az nē-tis ≈ Syr. ܡܢ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ.

100-105. Further: Since the reckoning of days is known from the sun, then before creating the sun, how did he know the number of the days, and their names? For, they state: “He created on the fourth day, that is, Wednesday[35]”. This also: On the seventh day, why did he have to rest and repose? Since in creating the world, the length and toil were only so much as that he spoke thus: “Thou shalt become”, how then were contented the days that he had to rest and repose when his toil should be removed? For, if in the same moment that he said “thou shalt become” [and it became], then the day of rest[36] should also have taken place instantaneously.

106-113. Further: For what purpose and cause did he create Adam and Eve, so that they perform his will, and why did he not so make them that they would not turn from performing his will? For if before making [them] he knew that they would not listen to his commands, and nonetheless he made them, then it was unreasonable for him to become ill-humoured and angry with them. It appears that Adonay himself was not satisfied with the realization of his will, and he was manifestly an opponent and adversary of his own will. If he did not know them before making them, and did not know that they would not listen to his commands, then he is ignorant and ill-informed. If they state that “his will itself was that they not (listen)”, why then did he give the command that they do (listen to) him? Then why is not(-listening to his commands) a sin? How does a horse move whom they harness to a chariot and hurry on with a whip?

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35 . It refers to the creation of the lights in the arch of heaven, on the fourth day, יוֹם רְבִיעִי, cf. Gen. 1, 14-19.

36 . rōz ī āsān. See 12.13.

114-115. From these statements are manifested the signs and marks of deceivers, whose will and command are inconsistent and incompatible one to the other.

116-120. If his will and desire were such that they shall not turn away from his will, then nonetheless their power and desire for turning away from his will were much stronger and more predominating than his [power] for not tuning away. If the will for their turning away from his will, and the knowledge of it, were his, and he gave the command for not turning away, then poor Adam, how could he not turn away? He is not even worthy to be the principle of that. For by turning away from his command, he only made a command into a lie; while by not turning away are made both will and knowledge into a lie.

121-134. Further: This garden which he prepared, for what purpose and advantage did he create it? As to the tree of knowledge itself, concerning which he commanded "Ye shall not eat", and issued the injunction for not eating of it, why then did he desire to create it? It appears from his injunction and command, that he prefers more little knowledge and ignorance, and wills them more than knowledge and wisdom, and his advantage is greater from ignorance. For while they had not eaten from the tree of knowledge, they were ignorant, and neither disobedient nor mischievous unto him. But as soon as they acquired knowledge, they became disobedient. He did not care about their ignorance, but as soon as they acquired knowledge, he became ill-humoured and angry, and expelled them from Paradise with grievous unhappiness and pitilessness. Briefly: The cause of the birth of man's knowledge in the world is the deceit of the serpent. They also say this: All things were created for man, wherefore it is apparent that he created the tree

for man, and that he made man dominant over all creature and creation. If that were so, why then did he injure [them] when they desired [to eat] from that tree which was theirs?

135-147. From these statements, it appears that: He had not a bit of knowledge. For, if he came forth to the garden, and cried, and called Adam by name, “where art thou”, it is as if he were unaware of the place where Adam was. He did not a bit foresee whether or not [Adam] had eaten from the tree, and he was unaware of this also: Who had eaten and what and how and when he had eaten, and by whom he had been deceived. If he were aware, then why had he to ask thus: “Mayest thou not have eaten of that tree about which I commanded: Thou shouldest not eat?” At first, when he came forth, he was not ill-humoured, but after he knew that he had eaten, he then became ill-humoured and angry. His little knowledge is [manifest] from this also: He created the serpent, as his own adversary, and put it into the garden with them. Or else, why did not he make the garden so fortified that the snake and other enemies might not enter it. His mendacity is manifest from this, when he said: “When you eat from this tree, you will die”. They ate and did not die, but became knowledgeable, and they distinguished good from evil. This also [shows] how inconsistent and opponent is his knowledge with his will and command. If he willed them to eat from the tree, and nonetheless he gave the command of not eating it, and knew that they would eat, then it is manifest that all [these] three are inconsistent, one towards the other: will and knowledge and command.[37]

[37] . See 11.93-102.

148-149. This also: When Adam committed sin, the curse which [Adonay] inflicted applies unlawfully to all, age after age. By whatever respect in which I deliberate, [I find Adonay] dull, ignorant, and nonsensical.

150. Concerning this chapter, on account of length, this much seems enough.

14

1-3. I intend to write a little of the much inconsistency and abundant fallaciousness of the same Scripture, which is full of every evil and demonism. And I shall expose a summary, one-thousandth of it.

May you observe [subtly] thereon.

4-8. First, this is what he says about his own quality: “I am Adonay, seeking vengeance, and repaying vengeance.[1] I will repay vengeance upon the children so far as the seventh generation[2], and, nonetheless, I do not forget the original vengeance”.

9-17. Somewhere else he states: “[He is] raging, and heavy-hearted. His lips are full of poison, his tongue a burning fire, and his breath as an overflowing stream[3], and his voice as a thunder[4] – it is even more like the voice of demons. His seat is in the

[1] . Cf. Deut. 32, 35 לי נקם ושלם לעת תמוט; Romans 12, 19 ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܒܥܘܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܢܦܫܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܒܥ ܕܝܢܟܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ.

[2] . haft āvādag (haftaṇbādaa: सप्तत्वैयत्यं). Cf. Ex. 20, 5 אנכי יהוה אלהיך אל קנא פקד עון אבת על־בנים על־שלשים ועל־רבעים לשנאי.

[3] . Cf. Deut. 4.24, Is. 30.27-28.

[4] . Cf. Ex. 23.22, Ps. 77.19, 104.7.

gloom, dew and cloud[5]. His mount is the parching wind[6]. From the movement of his feet arises the whirlwind[7]. When he walks, behind him arises the fire"[8].

18-20. Elsewhere, he said about his wrathfulness: "I was forty years in wrath about the Israelites". And he said: "The Israelites are erring-in-heart".[9]

21-23. Elsewhere, he said: "Who is blind[10] but my servant? Who is deaf[11] but the messenger whom I am destining? Who is blind as he that is sovereign?"[12] – It is clear that their sovereign is Adonay himself[13].

5 . Cf. Ps. 97.2, King I 8.12. Pers. tam ud nazm ud abr ≈ Hebr. חשך ענן וערפל (Deut. 4, 11).

6 . Cf. Ps. 18.10; 104.3.

7 . Cf. Nahum 1, 3.

8 . In the Ps. 50.3 a fire burns before Yahvé, and store-winds are round him. In the Is. 66.15 Yahvé will come in fire, and his chariots like the whirland, to render his anger with fury, and his rebuke with flames of fire.

9 . Cf. Ps. 95, 10
ארבעים שנה אקוט בדור-- ואמר עם תעי לבב הם והם לא-ידעו דרכי
cahal sāl rēšken būdam ped [hān āvād,]
u-m guft kū, ram hend kē-šān [vīftag-]dil
u-šān nē dānist [rāh ī man.]

10 . kōr ≈ Syr. ܟܘܪܐ.

11 . karr(ag) ≈ Syr. ܚܪܫܐ.

12 . Cf. Is. 42.19. The Isaiah speaks of « Yahwè's servant » (עֶבֶד יְהֹוָה , Syr. ܥܒܕܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ) and not of Yahwè himself.

13 . יהוה מלכנו (Is 33, 22).

24. Elsewhere, he said thus: "The fire-worshippers are misled[14]".

25-26. This also: "His action produces smoke and (live) coal[15]; and his strife bloodshed".

27-28. This also: "I incite men, one against the other. I sit upon the sky, and laugh at them"[16].

29-31. This also: "In one night, he slew 160 000 of the army and troop of the giants, with a horrible death[17]. Another time, he slew 600 000 men, besides women and young children, out of the Israelites, in the wilderness,[18] except two men who escaped"[19].

32-33. Further, this demonstrates that: His final outcome is all regret. For, he said: "He was regretful". And he said: "I regret making men on the earth."[20]

34. This also, he said: "He sits upon a throne which four angels hold on their wings, so that from each one of their stone wings flows out a river of fire."[21]

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[14] . peristagān ī ātaš (frīstagą ī ātaš: आराधकाः अग्नेः). Cf. Ez. 8.16: "… their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east."

[15] . Cf. Ps. 18.6.

[16] . Cf. Ps. 2.4.

[17] . Cf. Is. 37.36: The angel of Yahwè went out and put to death in the army of the Assyrians 185 000 men; when the people got up early in the morning, there was nothing to be seen but dead bodies.

[18] . Cf. Ex. 12.37.

[19] . Cf. Num. 14.30.

[20] . Cf. Gen. 6.6-7.

35. Now, if he be spiritual, and not physical, then why does he trouble these four poor small [angels] who suppress complaint?

36-39. Furthermore: Every day, he prepares, with his own hand 90 000 angels, and they worship him until night-time, and then he dismisses them to a fiery river in hell[22]. When violence and injustice of this description are seen, how then is it convenient, for the worldlings, to live through the exercise of virtue and good deed? When he casts poor angels who are respectful, obedient, and pure-in-action, together with others who are sinners, to eternal hell, it is like that which another group says that: "God, on the day of the resurrection, gives the sun and moon both together with sinners to hell, because there are men who have offered homage to them"[23].

40-43. Elsewhere, it is stated that: "When the eyes of the elder Abraham, the friend of Adonay, were afflicted, Adonay himself went to pay him a visit, and sat at his bedside, and inquired after his health. Abraham secretly summoned his dearest son, Isaac, and said: "Go out to Paradise, and bring beer that is light and pure!"

44-46. He went and brought it. Abraham prayed much Adonay: "Please drink beer (or, wine and bread)[24], in my house!"

[21] . Cf. Dan. 7.9.

[22] . Cf. Babylonian Talmud Ḥagigah 14a, Lamentations 3.23.

[23] . Cf. Acts 2.20.

[24] . may jō lit. 'wine (of) barley'.

47. Adonay said: “I will not taste it. For, it is not from Paradise, and [then] is not pure”.

48. Then Abraham attested that: “The wine (of barley) is pure, and Isaac, my dearest son, brought it from Paradise”.

49-50. Thereupon Adonay, convinced by Isaac, and because of Abraham’s attestation tasted the beer. Then, when he desired to go, he would not let him until he took a solemn oath, one to the other.

51-57. [If we] observe this “speech” of abundant fallaciousness, not even one of its statements will be worthy [of god], such as his coming corporally to the house of Abraham, and eating bread, and drinking wine, none of these [statements] is worthy of him. It appears that the ailment of Abraham was not from Adonay, but from another agent. His want of knowledge and lack of intelligence were such that he knew nothing about the purity and origin of wine. And his lying was this that he said he would not drink the wine, but at last drank it, then he admitted that [wine] was pure. Now, he whose quality is this, how is he worthy of worship as a divinity that is omniscient and omnipotent?

58-61. Elsewhere, it is stated that: “There was one, among the sick, who with his wife and children, was poor and unfortunate. He was ever very diligent and active in prayer, fasting and the services of god. One day, in prayer, he begged a favour: Give me affluence in my daily bread, so that it may be easier for me to live!

62-65. An angel descended, and said: God has not allotted thee, through the constellations, a daily bread more than this, and a new allotment is impossible. But [he says] I have created for you in Paradise a jewelled throne with four legs, as recompense for thy service and prayer. If you desire, I will give you one leg of that throne".

66-69. The prophet asked advice of his wife. The wife said: It is better for us to be content with the little daily bread and distress in this world than that our throne in paradise among our equals be three-legged. But if it is possible for thee, then tell [him to bestow] us a daily bread otherwise.

70. The angel came again and said: [He says:] Unless I disturb the celestial sphere, and create anew the heavens and earth, and fashion and set the motion of the stars anew, still before it is not known that thy destiny will fall out good or bad."[25]

71-74. From this word, it is so manifest that: He himself is not the bestower of daily bread; and fate and destiny are not by his will, and he cannot change destiny; the revolutions of the celestial sphere, the sun and moon and stars are not within the

[25]. Ta'anith, 25a: «Once his (Hanina's) wife said to him: How long shall we go on suffering so much: He replied: What shall we do? –Pray that something may be given to you, [she replied]. He prayed, and there emerged the figure of a hand reaching out to him a leg of a golden table. Thereupon he saw in a dream that the pious would one day eat at a three-legged golden table but he would eat at a two-legged table. Her husband said to her: Are you content that everybody shall eat at a perfect table and we at an imperfect table? She replied: What then shall we do? – Pray that the leg should be taken away from you, [she replied]. He prayed and it was taken away.»

Cf. Also Beraḫot, 17.

enclosure of his knowledge, or will, or command. This also: The throne as to which he announced "I will give it in Paradise" is not [the result] of his action or creation.

75-76. Elsewhere, he himself spoke thus: "I have slain the herd of sinners as much innumerable as the innocents".

77-78. When the apostles (/ angels) protested this much unreasonable action, then he spoke thus: "I am Adonay, with absolute power, supreme, without rival, and successful. No one dares to complain against me."[26]

79-86. There are much more statements, of abundant fallaciousness, it seemed to me too long to mention them. Whoever would deny or return from these words, should refer to the canon[27], that is the Āzād (Ōryātā), until he becomes aware of

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[26] . Cf. Babylonian Talmud Tractate Sanhedrin, folio 38b : « Rab Judah said in Rab's name: When the Holy One, blessed be He, wished to create man, He [first] created a company of ministering angels and said to them: Is it your desire that we make a man in our image? They answered: Sovereign of the Universe, what will be his deeds? Such and such will be his deeds, He replied. Thereupon they exclaimed: Sovereign of the Universe, What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou thinkest of him? Thereupon He stretched out His little finger among them and consumed them with fire. The same thing happened with a second company. The third company said to Him: Sovereign of the Universe, what did it avail the former [angels] that they spoke to Thee [as they did]? the whole world is Thine, and whatsoever that Thou wishest to do therein, do it. When He came to the men of the Age of the flood and of the division [of tongues] whose deeds were corrupt, they said to Him: Lord of the Universe, did not the first [company of angels] speak aright? Even to old age I am the same, and even to hoar hairs will I carry, He retorted. »

[27] . Pers. dastvar. According to Perikhanian āzād dastvar means 'a person competent in (the texts of the Jewish) tradition', i.e. 'a rabbi'.

the qualities (/contents) of the same book, and of the truth of that which I have stated. Now, if there be a god to whom these signs and marks apply, then truth is far from him, forgiveness strange to him, knowledge is not bestowed upon him, because he himself is the Demon of the hell, the Archont of the dark dwelling (of demons) of the gloomy seed, whom those misled by the demonic evil praise by the name of Adonay, and pay him homage.

87. This chapter is here completed.

Tenth Chapter

15

1-3. Another (chapter):
About the inconsistency and illogical discourses and unformed disputations of Christian groups[1], I express [my thoughts in] a few [words]. Since all three[2] are from one origin, which is Judaism, if anything be said against the one, it helps [to show] the error of all [three].

4-6. You should know whence the origin of the Christian doctrine has come forth: In the country of Jerusalem, there was a woman of the same Jews who was known as “the Virgin”[3], and yet she was found pregnant.

7. When they asked her: “Who is your pregnancy by?”

8. She replied: “The angel Gabriel came unto me, and he spoke thus: You are pregnant by the Pure Wind[4]”.

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[1] . Cf. DD 36.75-76 hambasāngōbišnīh-iz ī abēbrahm ī tarsāgān.

[2] . viz., the Melchites, Jacobites and Nestorians.

[3] . dušīzagīh (dušāžaī: दुश्चारितया). Pers. dušīzag ‘maiden, virgin’ / duxš ≈ Gr. παρθένος, Syr. ܒܬܘܠܬܐ. Cf. Matthew 1, 23.

[4] . vād ī pāk (vāṯ i pāk: वायोः पवित्रात्) ‘holy spirit, Spiritus Sanctus’ ≈ Syr. ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ, ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ , Sogd. zprt wʾt, Parth. wʾʾd pwʾg, Gr. Πνεύατος ἁγίου. Cf. Matthew 1, 18.

9. Then you should notice this: Who saw the angel Gabriel, apart from that woman wherefore it ought to consider that woman veracious?

10-11. If they say that, “On account of the noetic state[5] of that angel, no one was able to see him”, then, if the cause of not seeing the angel be the noetic nature (of the angels), that woman also, for the same reason, was not capable to see him.

12-17. If they state that, “On account of the dignity of that woman, god made [the angel] visible to her, and he did not grant [this favour] to anyone else”, however where is the evidence that the woman has spoken veraciously? Or [even] if that woman were well-known for veracity, then it is expedient to show [the angel] to other persons, so that, they might consider that testimony much more veracious. Now he has shown (the angel) to that woman only, and (for this reason) no one considered her as veracious. Now, you should notice that: All their religion is based on the saying of a woman who has given this evidence about herself.

18-24. Further: If they state that, “Messiah received existence from the Pure Wind of god”, then if that [wind] be the only pure wind which comes from god, then the other winds, which are different from that, do not come from god, and are not pure, and inevitably another creator is demonstrated. If the winds be all from god and divine, they ought to be all pure. If only that one wind be pure, and the other winds filthy and not divine, as there is no creator whatever except god, that filth and impurity of the other winds are likewise from god. And if the other winds be

[5] . Pers. mēnōg(īg)īh ‘spiritual state, immateriality’ (Av. mańyu- m. ‘nous’, mańyava- adj. ‘noetic’).

those of god and divine, they ought to be all pure. Now, why do they consider that one as pure, and the other [winds] as impure?

25-30. Further: If Messiah were the son of god[6], for the reason that god is, through material production and spiritual creation and nourishing, the father of all, then Messiah, as a son of god, is not different from a minor (or, negligible) creature produced materially or created spiritually by god. If he were born by means of generation (male nature) and conception (female nature), and if the birth of god ought to be through male and female, then, in like manner, as the spiritual archangels[7] are born, they ought to die too. Then, as regards the god also, [his] death will be doubtless. Because, where there is birth in such a manner, eating and drinking and even death will be certain.

31-35. Some even claim that "Messiah is god himself".[8] Now this (claim) is more astonishing, that the great god[9] who holds and maintains both worlds (of thought and life)[10], became with

[6] . pus ī yazd ≈ Gr. υἱὸν θεοῦ, Syr. ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. Cf. Matthew 14.32-33: "And when they climbed into the boat, the wind died down. Then those who were in the boat worshiped him, saying, 'Truly you are the Son of God.' "

[7] . amehrspendān mēnōgān ≈ Syr. ܬܫ̈ܡܫܬܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ ܡܠܐܟ̈ܐ.

[8] . Cf. John 10.30-33: " 'I and the Father are one.' Again the Jews picked up stones to stone him, but Jesus said to them, 'I have shown you many great miracles from the Father. For which of these do you stone me?' 'We are not stoning you for any of these,' replied the Jews, 'but for blasphemy, because you, a mere man, claim to be God.' "

[9] . yazd ī vazurg (yazaṯ i guzurg: इअजदो यो महान्) ≈ الله اکبر.

[10] . do oxān (du āxąn: उभयोर्भुवनयोः. Skt. bhuvanadvaya 'the two worlds (heaven and earth)'.

human nature[11], and went into the womb of a Jewish woman. He left the royal throne and abandoned the government and protection of the sky and earth and the celestial sphere, etc., and fell, in secret, into a filthy and narrow place, and, finally, delivered himself to smiting, crucifixion, in the hands of enemies who, apart from death, perpetrated much obscenity and iniquity.

36-39. If they state that “He was inside the womb of a woman[12] because god exists in every place”, then, being inside the womb of a woman, through existence in every place, is not different from being in any very filthy and very foul place. Although, saying “every place has been the essence of god” is an enormous fallacy. For if it be so, then any speech about the existence of anything except god would be false.

40-42. Thereupon they state thus: “He submitted himself to death and crucifixion, for the sake of demonstrating the resurrection to men”. If he were not able to demonstrate the resurrection to men, except through that infamy and death and obscenity, then he does not deserve (the quality of) omnipotence. Or if he were without an opponent or adversary, then why did not he make men enlightened, insightful and without doubt as to resurrection, so that there would have been no need of perpetrating such obscenities, infamies, troubles which succeed to the wishes of his enemies.

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[11] . cihr ī mardōmīh. Cf. Syr. ܟܝܢܐ ܐܢܫܝܐ ‘human nature’, ܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ‘divine nature’.

[12] . Cf. Luke 1.30-31: [30] “The angel said to her: Don't be afraid, Mary, for you have found favor with God. Behold, you will conceive in your womb, and bring forth a son, and will call his name Jesus.”

43-45. If he submitted himself, through his will, to death, [for the purpose of] innovating (or, for making available the New Covenant)[13], then it is not now reasonable to invoke woe and curse upon his slayers, and to vent his anger upon the Jews. They indeed ought not to invoke curse and woe upon them, but ought to reward them for their action.

46-50. Further, they state this, that: "Father and Son and Pure Wind are three names which are not different one from the other[14], nor one is before the other"[15].

This also: If "the son is not less than the father, but in all knowledge equal to the father"[16], what then is the reason of calling him by a different name? If it be proper for three to be one, then it is certainly possible for three to be nine and for nine to be three,[17] and it may be said, in this sequence, illogically for other numbers.

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13 . Pers. nōg-ēvēnagīh ≈ Arab. بدعة. Pers. nōg ēvēn 'new law(s)' ≈ Syr. ܢܡܘ̈ܣܐ ܚܕ̈ܬܐ. Cf. Hebr. ברית חדשה 'new covenant', Gr. διαθήκη καινή.

14 . Cf. John's First Letter 5.7-8 "For there are three who bear witness, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood; and the three agree as one."

15. Cf. Babai's example of the Sun : The flame, heat and light of the sun cannot be separated.One is not prior to the other, but not one and the same thing. Although Father, Son and Holy spirits are not ܩܢܘ̈ܡܐ ܡܫܚܠ̈ܦܐ, but only Powers ܚܝ̈ܠܐ. The divinity, ܩܢܘ̈ܡܐ ܡܫܚܠ̈ܦܐ, is inseparably united. Babai Magni Liber de Unione, 30, 25. See G. Chediath, The Christianity of Mar Babai the Great, Kottayam, 1982, 116. See also the Athanasian Creed (Quicunque Vult).

16 . Cf. Philippians 2.6 "…to be equal with God." Pers. hāvand ≈ Gr. ἴσος, Syr. ܫܘܝܐ.

17 . A. Périer, « Un traité de Yahyâ ben ʿAdî, défense du dogme de la trinité contre les objections d'Al-Kindî », R.O.C., XXII, 1920, 1-19, 9.

«قال الكندي: امّا قولهم أنّ ثلثه واحد وواحداً ثلثة فهذا ظاهر الخطا ...»

51-58. Besides: If the son be not less than the father, then the father is not greater than the son.[18] Then it is possible to say either that the father is from the son, or that the son is not from the father. This is certain, that anyone who is from him who is indeed his matter and seed, ought to be less than him from whom he is, either through time or through filiation. If the son be no less than the father, then the maker is not before what he has made, nor yet is greater; both ought to be principles, and the creature is not less than the creator, nor the creator greater than the creature. Whatever is said of this kind is illogical.

59-62. This also: If the son be equal to the father in all knowledge, then the father also is as ignorant as the son who was unaware of his death and crucifixion until they captured him and caused him infamy and outrage and put him to a tragic death.

He did not know (the answer) when they asked him: "When is the day of resurrection?"

And he responded: "Of this no one knows but the father"[19].

62. Since therefore the nescience of the son is certain, the father likewise (is ignorant).

63-68. This also: He created all the creatures and creations, and even his own adversary, out of nothing[20], and led astray the slayers of his son. If god himself created the slayers of his son,

[18] . Cf. DD 36.76 mašīhā … ped pus ī yazd ēdōn dārend kū pus nē keh az pid.

[19] . Cf. Mark 13.32: "But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father." Cf. also Matthew 24.36.

[20] . See 13.78.

and even, his own adversary, without a motive and without a cause, and they slew the son in spite of the knowledge of his (father), then it ought to be without doubt that, he himself was the slayer of his son. If he knew that, “when I create a son, they will then slay him”, and finally, he created him, [he acted] absurdly and unwisely. But if he did not know it, he is of little knowledge.

69-70. Furthermore: If god produced these creatures and creation out of nothing, and also produced and created the Adversary out of nothing, then their substance ought to be one. So why will not he save the Adversary in the same manner as the other creatures?

Eleventh Chapter

15

71. Another (chapter): About the inconsistency of their discourses. From their canonical[1] scriptures.

72. It is said that: “Nothing falls from a tree, and no voice arises in a land, nor two birds strive together, unless by the command of the father”[2].

73-76. This statement demonstrates that: There is one principle, and everything is by his will. Then, for what purpose did he fashion (/ “send”) Messiah, who is his son; and which way did he fail [to show, and now the son] should show it? If all be by his will, and never were unsuccessful, the same explanation implies this that: The Jews slew his son, Messiah, through the will of the father.

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[1] . Pers. dastvar/ dastōr ‘an entitled person; having mandate; high-priest; spiritual guide; text; canon’, adj. ‘canonical’, ped dastvar dār- ‘to accept as forming the canon of scripture’; Bactr. λιστοβαρο ‘manuscript’. Pers.-Arab. مسوّده ,دستور.

«دفتری را که نخستین بار از خامهء یک دانشمند می تراوید به زبان فارسی دستور می خوانده اند.»

م.-ت. دانشپژوه، المنطق لإبن مقفع، تهران، ۱۳۵۷، هشتادودو.

[2] . Menasce thinks that “le text actuel me paraît provenir d’une mauvaise dictée.” He has tried to correct it according to the Matthew 10.29-30: nē ōfted vay tis az draxt, ud nē baved vars ped sar, ud nē do murv ēk dram frōšend bē framān ī pid ‘Aucun *oiseau ne tombe de l’arbre, aucun cheveu n’est sur la tête*, et deux oiseaux ne se vendent une drachme que par ordre du Père.’

77-78. Again, it says inconsistently about the free will[3] of the individuals (or, the bishop[4] states?): “He has created man with free will”.[5]

79-84. Thus, the fault and sin which mankind commit are [the effects of] the freedom of will. He himself has given the freedom of will to man. Then, it ought to consider him as a sinner who is the original cause of sin. If man, by their free will, commit sin and crime, and not through the will of god, then, the sin and crime which, by nature[6], proceed from the lion, serpent, wolf, scorpion and [other] stinging and slaying monsters, where is the freedom of will, and whose sin is it? Besides, the deadly poison which is in the aconite and other species of plants, the cause of which is not owing to free will, what is its principle?

85-88. If they state that, “these poisons are useful and necessary in many medicines which expel the disease of the sick”, then you should ask them: Who has created the disease itself and its noxious effect, and what is its necessity, that, afterwards, he created and needed the medicine of the deadly poison? Or, would (not) be more proper if he had created an elixir for removing that disease than a medicine of poison?

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3 . Pers. āzād-kām ≈ Gr. προαίρεσις, Syr. ܒܪ ܚܐܪܐ ܕܒܨܒܝܢܐ, Lat. liberum arbitrium. Pers. āzādkāmīh ≈ Syr. ܚܐܪܘܬܐ ܕܨܒܝܢܐ.

4 . Pers. ōstīgān ‘firm, relaible, confident’. Armen. ոստիկան renders Gr. ἐπίσκοπος ‘bishop ; overseer’. I prefer to read stīān ‘persons, individuals’.

5 . This statement is not found in the Gospel. See Ephraim’s first discourse addressed to Hypatius: “For God to Whom nothing is difficult has created in us something which is difficult to explain, and that is, Free will.” S. Ephraim’s Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, C. W. Mitchell, London, 1912, xi.

6 . Pers. cihrīk-kunišn ‘acting naturally’, opp. āzād-kām.

89. This also: From what origin is the name “noxiousness”[7] whose antonym, “usefulness”[8], will be necessary?

90. Upon this chapter, it is possible to speak abundantly. I contented myself to explain succinctly.

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[7] . Pers. zyāngārīh ≈ Syr. ܡܚܣܪܢܘܬܐ.

[8] . Pers. sūdumandgārīh ≈ Syr. ܡܝܬܪܘܬܐ.

Twelfth Chapter

15

91-92. Another (chapter):
From the discourses of their (religious) authority Paul, which are in contradiction with their proper principles.

93-96. They say this also: “The good that I desire, I do not do; but the evil which I do not desire, I do. It is no more I that do [it], but [sin] which dwells in me. For, I see [it] quarrelling against me, day and night.”[1]

97-98. Again, they say, from the discourse of Messiah: “God is the principle of the light and goodness, in him are no evil and darkness at all”[2].

99-104. This also: “Just as a shepherd who provides protection for an hundred sheep, if the wolves carry off one of them, he goes after that one which the wolves carried off until he

[1] . Cf. (the Gospel according to Paul:) Romans 7.19-23: “For the good which I desire, I don't do; but the evil which I don't desire, that I practice. But if what I don't desire, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwells in me. I find then the law, that, to me, while I desire to do good, evil is present. For I delight in God's law after the inward man, but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members.”

[2] . Cf. John’s first letter 1.5: “God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.”

leads it back to the flock, and leaves the ninety and nine in the wilderness[3]. So I came to lead the misled, not the righteous. Because, those who are righteous have no need to be brought into the right way."[4]

105-107. If the principle be one, and his will be wholly [fulfilled], then no one shall be astray and misled; even the wolf's slaying of the sheep is likewise his will, and he himself created the wolf too.

108-109. The extremely inconsistent discourse of Messiah may appear in the case of the two principles. As they say, from the same discourse of Messiah: "There is another principle, an enemy of my father. I am the benevolent god."[5]

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[3] . Cf. Matthew 18.12-14: "What do you think? If a man has one hundred sheep, and one of them goes astray, doesn't he leave the ninety-nine, go to the mountains, and seek that which has gone astray? If he finds it, most assuredly I tell you, he rejoices over it more than over the ninety-nine which have not gone astray. Even so it is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Cf. also Luke 15.4-5: "Which of you men, if you had one hundred sheep, and lost one of them, wouldn't leave the ninety-nine in the wilderness, and go after the one that was lost, until he found it? When he has found it, he carries it on his shoulders, rejoicing."

[4] . Cf. Matthew 9.12-13: "When Jesus heard it, he said to them: "Those who are healthy have no need for a physician, but those who are sick do. But you go and learn what this means: 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice,' for I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." " See also Mark 2.17, Luke 5.31-32.

[5] . Another principle is "the prince of this world" (ܐܪܟܘܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ, ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, cf. John 12.31: "Now is the judgment of this world. Now the prince of this world will be cast out."), or, "the devil" (ܣܛܢܐ, διάβολος, cf. Matthew 13.39: "The enemy who sowed them is the devil. The harvest is the end of the age, and the reapers are angels."). Satan is also called

110. It is manifest, from this discourse, that he (Messiah) separates and distinguishes his own father from that enemy.

111-113. This also: “God has fashioned (“sent”) me for truth and through truth[6]. The evil-doer Evil Spirit[7] came to me to transgress (the law), and he desired to deceive me in many ways”[8].

114-116. Well, if the principle be one, and there be no contrary to it, why then was the Evil Spirit so powerful that he dared to make wander the son of god? If god himself created that evil-doer, then that making wander (“temptation”) was knowingly trough the will of [god] himself, and he himself made wander (/ was the “tempter” of) the son.

117-118. This also, it says, that: “When the Jews disputed against him, he said to the Jews: ‘Ye are from beneath; and I am from above. You are from this world; I am not of this world’.”[9]

119-121. This also he said: “I know that you are Abraham’s seed, who was homicide from before. You desire to kill me. I do

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the “prince of the power of the air” (ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος) in Ephesians 2.2.

[6] . Cf. John 18, 37: “Pilate therefore said to him: "Are you a king then?" Jesus answered: "You say that I am a king. For this reason I have been born, and for this reason I have come into the world, that I should testify to the truth. Everyone who is of the truth listens to my voice." ”

[7] . Pers. ahrmen, Gr. πνεύματος.

[8] . Cf. Matthew 4.1-11: “Then Jesus was led up by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted by the devil. …”

[9] . Cf. John 8.23: “He said to them: "You are from beneath. I am from above. You are of this world. I am not of this world." ”

that which I have seen with my father; you do that which you have seen with your father"[10].

122-129. This also: "If god be your father, you would be my friend. For, I have proceeded forth from god; neither have I come of my own desire. He has fashioned ("sent") me as a benevolent god. Then why do you not bear my word? Because you are from the evil-doer, you cannot bear [it]. And the will of your father you will do. He was not in the truth, whatever he spoke, he spoke a lie. For, you are liar, you and your father. I that tell the truth, you believe me not[11]. He who is of god, hears god's words. But you do not hear my words, because you are not of god"[12].

130-131. By all these words, it is demonstrated that: There are two principles: "One that fashioned ("sent") me; one that

[10] . Cf. John 8, 37-38: "I know that you are Abraham's seed, yet you seek to kill me, because my word finds no place in you. I say the things which I have seen with my Father; and you also do the things which you have seen with your father."

[11] . Cf. John 8.42-45: "Therefore Jesus said to them, "If God were your Father, you would love me, for I came out and have come from God. For I haven't come of myself, but he sent me. Why don't you understand my speech? Because you can't hear my word. You are of your Father, the devil, and you want to do the desires of your father. He was a murderer from the beginning, and doesn't stand in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaks a lie, he speaks on his own; for he is a liar, and the father of it. But because I tell the truth, you don't believe me."

[12] . Cf. John 8.47: "He who is of God hears the words of God. For this cause you don't hear, because you are not of God."

fashioned the Jews". He called this [second] principle, the evil-doer[13], and not the benefactor.

132. This also he said: "A tree of good cannot bring forth the fruit of evil, neither can a [tree] of evil bring forth the fruit of good."[14]

133-140. This also: He either makes the whole tree with fruit of good, or makes the whole tree with fruit of evil. For, every tree is known by [its own] fruit, either of good or of evil.[15] He said "the whole tree", and not "half the tree". How is it convenient that half of a tree be light and half dark, half good and half evil, half veracity and half mendacity? If these two contend with each other, they cannot be one tree.

141-143. He also called the Jews "the hill-serpent Jew"[16], and he said that: "How can you do good, when you are Jewish evil-doers?"[17] And he did not call his own father "the evil-doer".

144-145. This also, he says that: "Every tree which the father has not sown should be hewn down, and be cast into the fire"[18].

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[13] . Pers. bazakkar 'evil-doer, criminal', Gr. ἀνθρωποκτόνος 'murdering man, homicide', Syr. ܡܩܛܠ ܐܢܫܐ.

[14] . Cf. Mathhew 7.18: "A good tree can't produce evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree produce good fruit." Cf. also Luke 6.43.

[15] . Cf. Matthew 7.17: "Even so, every good tree produces good fruit; but the corrupt tree produces evil fruit." Cf. also Mathhew 12.33, Luke 6.43-44.

[16] . mār ī kōfīg jehūdak. Cf. Matthew 3.7: "generation of vipers" (ܝܠܕܐ ܕܐܟܕܢܐ, Γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν), Matthew 23.33 "serpents, generation of vipers" (ܚܘܘܬܐ ܝܠܕܐ ܕܐܟܕܢܐ, ὄφεις γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν). Cf. also Luke 3.7. Hedayat : مارِ کوهستانِ یهودا; Menasce : "serpents des monts de Juda".

[17] . Cf. Matthew 12.34 : "You offspring of vipers, how can you, being evil, speak good things? For out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaks."

It may be known, from this saying, that there is a tree, which the father has not sown, and it should be hewn down and cast away.

146-147. Furthermore: “I came unto my own, and my own received me not”[19]. It may be known, from this word, that what is his own and what is not his own are two.

148-150. This also, it says, that: “Our father that are in heaven, may your kingdom come. May your will be done in earth, as in heaven. Give us daily bread! And do not bring us to temptation!”[20] It is known, from this saying, that his will is not pure on earth as in heaven.

151. This also: “The temptation of mankind is not out of god.”[21]

[18] . Cf. Matthew 3.10 : “Even now the ax lies at the root of the trees. Therefore, every tree that doesn't bring forth good fruit is cut down, and cast into the fire.” Matthew 15.13 : “But he answered, "Every plant which my heavenly Father didn't plant will be uprooted.”

[19] . Cf. John 1.11 : “He came to his own, and those who were his own didn't receive him.”

[20] . Cf. Matthew 6.9-13: “Pray like this: Our Father in heaven, may your name be kept holy. Let your kingdom come. Let your will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. Bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one. For yours is the kingdom, the power, and the glory forever. Amen.” Pers. gumāngarīh, Gr. πειρασμόν, Lat. temptatio.

[21] . Cf. The Letter from James 1.13-14: “Let no man say when he is tempted, "I am tempted by God," for God can't be tempted by evil, and he himself tempts no one. But each one is tempted, when he is drawn away by his own lust, and enticed.”

152-153. This also, he initially said, that: “I have not come to disturb the Law[22] of Moses, but I have come to make it more complete”[23].

153-154. Nevertheless all his words and commands were inconsistent with the ordinances and laws of Moses and disturbed these laws.

155. On this chapter, as far as here is complete.

[22] . Pers. ēvēn, Armen. ōrēn ≈ Gr. νόμος, Syr. ܢܡܘܣܐ. Aram. אוריתא /ōrāytā/ ‘the Law (of Moses), the Torah’.

[23] . Matthew 5, 17: “"Don't think that I came to destroy the law (νόμον, ܢܡܘܣܐ) or the prophets. I didn't come to destroy, but to fulfil.”

Thirteenth Chapter

16

1-4. **Moreover, is here written about the errors of Mani, one out of a thousand and ten thousand; because I am unable of more completely writing of the errors, (insane) speech, and deceit of Mani and the Manichaeans, much pain and long life would be necessary for me therein.**

§ 4-7. Now, O Mazdayasnians of Zaraθuštra, you should know that the initial discourse of Mani is about the infinity of the principles; and the middle is about the mixture; and the final is about the separation of Light from Darkness –that which is more similar to non-separation.[1]

[1] . This statement refers to Mani's doctrine of the two primeval principles and the three times :

The idea of the two principles represents the base of Mani's ontology: do bun vazurg; Syr. ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܪ̈ܝܫܢܘܬܐ (cf. Theodorus bar Könai Liber Scholiorum, ed. by A. Scher, Paris, 1912, 311-312 ܘܐܠܦ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ ܪ̈ܝܫܢܘܬܐ. ܚܕܐ ܠܛܒܬܐ ܘܚܕܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܦ ܦܘܠܘܣ.); OTurk. öki yïltïz (cf. X^{v}āstvānīft VIII A/ 158); Chin. (da) erzong (cf. the Manichaean Treatise from Dunhuang III).

The three times (OTurk. üč öd, cf. X^{v}āstvānīft VIII A/ 158-199; Chin. san-ji, cf. Sanji jing 'Scripture of the Three Times') of the "History" of the world are: initial separation (Pers. bun, L. initium); mixture (meyān, L. medium); and final separation (frazām, L. finem). Cf. Augustine, Contra Felicem I, 9-10 Venit Manichaeus et per suam praedicationem docuit nos initium medium et finem.

§ 8-9. Moreover, [Mani states that]: This world is the corporeal body of Aŋra Mainyu; every corporeal being is a production of Aŋra Mainyu.[2]

§ 10-20. In detail: The sky is from the skin, the earth from the flesh, the mountains from the bones, and the plants from the hair of the Flayed Demons. The rain is the sperm of the Giant Demons who are bound on the celestial sphere.[3] Mankind are two-legged demons, and cattle (/ animals) four-legged. The Flayed [demons] are the commanders-in-chief of Aŋra Mainyu, who, in the beginning, in the first battle[4] robbed the light from the god Ohrmazd (i.e. the First Man) and swallowed it.[5] In the the second battle, [the sons of light] captured the Flayed Demons (i.e. the sons of darkness) together with many demons, and bound some [of them] to the celestial sphere[6]; and slew the

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2 . Cf. Theodorus, 313 ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܝܟ.

3 . Pers. māzandar ≈ Gr. ἄρχοντος. The Greek Formula of Abjuration speaks of the « sweat of the wicked Archots » (ἱδρώτων πονηρῶν ἀρχόντων). According to the Kephalaia 56 (137, 23-24) the sin (= sperm) which was spurted out from the Archonts was in fact the matter (ὕλη).

4 . Pers. fradum ardīg ≈ Sogd. pyrnmcyk ʾʾxʾs.

5 . See gōbišn abar astvand (M. Boyce, A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian, y 22) : hān rōšnīh ud x^vašn īg yazdān, ī az nox āz ud dēvān ud perīgān narān ud māyagān jūd ud ōbārd u-š nūn-z grift dārend. Cf. Ephraim (S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan, by C. W. Mitchell, Oxford, 1912, 32):

ܚܫܘܟܐ ܕܡܕܡܝܪܐ ܐܦ ܡܠܟܗ ܐܚܝܕܗ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܡܕܡܝܪܐ. ܘܥܨܝܗ ܘ ܠܥܣܗ. ܘܐܟܠܗ ܘܡܫܡܠܝܗ ܘܠܒܫܗ ܐܦ ܒܠܥܗ܀

Cf. also Augustine, Contra Faustum, 13.18 Lucem a tenebris devoratam et ligatam et inquinatam.

6 . According to the Kephalaia of the Teacher 69 the twelve signs of the zodiac (Copt. pmntsnaus nzōdion) were fashioned from the five worlds of darkness (tiou nkosmos), and bound on the sphere; the other five stars (= Planets) too came about from the five worlds of the land of darkness. The fashioning of the zodiac was called the "crucifixion of the Archonts". See Hegemonius, Acta Archelai 8, 11 11 Τὸ Ζῶν Πνεῦμα ... κατελθὸν ἀνήνεγκε τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ἐσταύρωσεν ἐν τῷ στερεώματι ὅ ἐστιν αὐτῶν (τὸ) σῶμα ἡ

Flayed demons, and maintained and made from them this Great Creature (i.e. macrocosm)[7].

§ 21-27. The sun and moon were placed outside the sky [of stars], in the highest[8], so that, little by little, the light which the demons swallowed, be raised and purified through the leading up and purification by the sun and moon.[9] Afterwards Aŋra Mańyu, through foresight, knew that that light, through the leading up by the sun and the moon, would be purified and separated.[10] He quickly arranged, this Little World (/ microcosm)[11] –that is, man and cattle and other animals – like a

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σφαῖρα τότε πάλιν τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τοὺς φωστῆρας ἅ ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς λείψανα.. See also Joannis Damascenus, Contra Manichaeos, 29.

[7] . Pers. dām ī vazurg ‘great creation, macrocosm’ / gēhān ī vazurg ≈ Pers. nasāh vazurg, Parth. zambūdīg vuzurg.

[8] . Cf. Gōbišn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 7): gird-asmān ēv, ped axtarān ud estāragān, ud rah do ī x^{v}ar ud māh …; (y 30) x^{v}arxšēd andar ōy vehmīh ī hām-kišvar ped āsmānān bārist ...

[9] . It refers to two chariots for the transportation of liberated light-particles. Cf. Gōbišn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (y 23). For “two chariots” (Pers. rah, Parth. wardyōn, Sogd. warten) we find in other texts “ships” (Syr. ܐܠܦܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ‘ship of light’), “palaces of light” (X^{v}āstvānīft T II D 178 III R 40 ʿikii yaruq), “lamp” (yamagān rōšnān do cirāγ vazurgān), “boat” (in the Acta Archelai, 13 Beeson 21, 1.10-12 the sun is the great πλοῖον, and the moon the small πλοῖον).

(y 24) rah ī māh yazd … rah ī x^{v}arxšēd ≈ Bd 53 rah ī x^{v}aršēd … rah ī māh.

Pers. pālāy-/ pārāy- ‘to filter, purify’ ≈ διυλιζω ; صفّى ;يلل .

Pers. ahrāmēn- ‘to lead up’/ ul ahrām- ≈ صعد.

Cf. Šābuhragān G … pāk bavād u ō x^{v}ar ud māh ahrāmād ud ped cihr ī ohrmazdbay yazd bavād u az x^{v}ar u māh hamis ō vahištāv ahrāmānd. Cf. also Kephalaia 71.

[10] . Pers. pāl- ‘to purify’ ≈ استصفاء. Pers. vizār- ‘to separate’ ≈ Syr. ܦܪܡ; ܦܪܫ; Arab. خلاص.

[11] . Pers. gēhān ī kōdak ≈ Pers. šahr ī kōdak/ kōdakbūd, Parth. zambūdīg kašudag. See 1.20. Pers. gēhān ī kōdak … hampeccēn ud hangōšīdag ī gēhān ī vazurg. Cf. Kephalaia 70 “On the Body, that it was made after the pattern of

copy and an example of the Great World, with the other corporeal creation, so that the light might not be separated from the dark; he bound and imprisoned the soul and light in the body, so that that light which ascends to the sun and the moon, shall again be restrained through the copulation and birth of living beings, and the separation shall be postponed.

§ 28-37. The rain was the semen of the Giant Demons, for the reason that when the Giant Demons were fastened to the (celestial) sphere they who had swallowed the light, in order to separate the light from them, by a new manner, skill and art of Zurvān[12], they show the twelve First-born Daughters of Zurvān[13] before the male Giant Demons, so that the lust of those Giant Demons is aroused from seeing them, and semen is separated from them; the light which is within the semen is poured upon the earth; plants, trees and grain are grown therefrom; the light which is within the Giant Demons is separated through the semen; [the light] which [falls] on the earth, is separated from the earth by means of the plants.

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the Cosmos". See also Kosmogonische Texte (Sundermann, 1973) 1.8 u-š ēn nasāh šahr īg kōdak kird.

[12] . Pers. zurvān 'time' = pid ī vazurgīh 'Father of Greatness'.

[13] . Neryōsang's rendereing: द्वादशराशीः दुहितरः कालस्य 'the twelve signs of the zodiac, (i.e.) the daughters of Time'. Pers. dvāzdahān nax^{v}rēg-duxtarān ≈ Syr. ܬܪܬܥܣܪܐ ܒ̈ܬܘܠܬܐ, Parth. dvāδes šahrδārīft, Arab. عناصره الاثنى عشرة. These virgins who accompany the Third Messenger are: šahrδārīft / ܡܠܟܘܬܐ; žīrīft/ ܚܟܡܬܐ; bōxtagīft/ ܙܟܘܬܐ; hunsandīft/ ܦܫܝܩܐ; abrang/ ܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ; rāštīft/ ܫܪܪܐ; hamvadēndīft/ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ; darγmanīft/ ܢܝܚܘܬ ܪܘܚܐ; razvarīft/ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ; kirbagīft/ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ; hvabsāgīft/ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ; rōšn/ ܢܘܗܪܐ. This series of divinized virtues are also known as "twelve helmsmen" (δώδεκα κυβερνῆται). See Acta Archelai 13.2. See also Ibn al-Nadīm (كتاب الفهرست, G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871, 332):

قال: وللاله فى هذه الارض عظمات اثنى عشر يسمّون الابكار صورهم كصورته كلّها علماء عاقلون.

§ 38-41. Furthermore, about the difference of substance of (vital) soul and body [they state] thus: Soul is bound and imprisoned within the body.[14] Since the creator and maintainer of all corporeal and material beings is Aŋra Mainyu[15]; for this reason it ought not to procreate and propagate lineage[16], because the maintaining of man and cattle means collaboration with Aŋra Mainyu and the retaining of soul and light into bodies –nor even to cultivate plants and grain.[17]

§ 42-45. Furthermore, they inconsistently state thus: The destroyer of creatures is likewise Aŋra Mainyu; for this reason, it ought not to kill any creature whatsoever[18], because it is a work of Aŋra Mainyu.

§ 46-50. Moreover, whereas Aŋra Mainyu maintained the world, God is finally victorious, through the separation of (vital) souls from bodies.[19] This world will be destroyed in the end[20], a

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[14] . Cf. ^{T}M 9 II R (Boyce, ae 3) gyān az tan judgōhr, ud abāg mēnōgīh ī tan, ī ast xēšm ud āz ud āvarzōg, andar tan aōn āmixt ud pesāxt ud bast ēsted cōn … Cf. Dk iii, M 218 $^{+}$gyān ped tan mehmān nē baved bē andar tan bastag ast.

[15] . Cf. ^{T}S 9 (Boyce, aq 2) … āz, hān durvend mād ī vispān dēvān … az nas īg dēvān, ud az rīm ī druxšān, kird anād ēn nasāh.

[16] . Cf. ^{T}M 2 I (Boyce, h 6) hān vaxš guft cē ast dēn ī āvarē? man guft pit ud may nē x^{v}aram, az zan dūr pahrēzam. Cf. Dk iii, M 217 zan <az tōhmag> ud zan az bē-tōhmag ped peyvann rāyēnīdan ō veh vizīdagān bazagīh.

[17] . Cf. Dk iii, M 217 … gēhān avarzišnīh …, dārišn ī hāmis mardōm ānāftan, gōspend abāg mardōm abesihēnīdan. The harvesters who harvest resemble the Archonts who, from the beginning, dwelt in the Darkness. Cf. *Acta Archelai* X. In China « Li's poems against the Manichaeans are found together with a collection of ten poems of similar length urging the common people not to neglect their agricultural duties. » S.N.C. Lieu "Polemics against Manichaeism as a subversive cult in Sung China (A.D. c. 960- c. 1200)", *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 1979, 62/1, (132-67), 152.

[18] . Cf. X^{v}āstvānīft V A-C/ 79-90.

[19] . Cf. ^{T}M 2 II peyvahan ud vindišn īg vispān šahrān nizēhed.

new [one] will not be arranged[21], nor will there be the Resurrection and the Future Body.[22]

§ 51-52. Moreover, the two principles coexist perpetually and contiguously[23] just as sunshine and shadow[24], and not any width and breadth[25] exist between them.

§53-55. Now, I shall first speak about the impossibility of any existent thing being unlimited, except only Space[26] and

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[20] . Concerning the destruction of the world in the end, see Coptic Manichaean Homilies (Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, Stuttgart, 1934, 39).

[21] . Concerning the construction of a new world (navāg šahr dištan), see ᵀM 2 II (Boyce, ac 7).

[22] . Pers. tan ī pasēn ≈ Parth. estomēn yazd; Copt tandreias trae. Concerning the Resurrection (/ liberation of the light, Sogd. mwrtʾjwʾndy, Pers. murdāxēz$_{\bar{\imath}h}$), see ᵀM 140 and ᵀM 1501 (Sogdian). Mani denied the restoration of the corporeal body, and asserted that the resurrection of the fleshly bodies was the belief of the "Doctors" (Sogd. qyšyk-t ≈ Pers. kēšdārān) ; the resurrection of man was, for him, the redemption of the soul. See Augustine, *De haeresibus*, 45 Venisse ad animas, non ad corpora, liberandas. See also Theodorus (Scher, 313):

ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܠܢܦܫܬܐ ܠܚܘܕ܀

[23] . Cf. Ephraim (61):

ܐܝܟ ܗܒܠܐ ܢܩܦܝܢ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܒܚܕܐ ܛܠܠܐ ܘܫܡܫܐ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ܀

Pers. ham-vimand ≈ ܢܩܝܦܐ.

[24] . Cf. Šahrestānī

وفى الحيز متحاذيان تحاذى الشخص (×الشمس) والظل. (الملل والنحل، الجزء الاول، م. .س. كيلانى، القاهرة، ١٣٩٦/ ١٩٧٦، ٢٤٤).

Cf. also Ephraim (98) :

ܬܫܘܝܬܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܕܛܠܠܐ܀

[25] . Pers. vehmīh 'width, breadth', cf. VZ 2.11 vehmīh ī andarvāy. Cf. also Gō$_{b}$išn īg pahrēzišn rōzān (Boyce, y 30) x^{v}aršēd andar ōy vehmīh ī hāmkišvar ped āsmān bārist. Pers. višādagīh 'being open, expansion; open space', cf. VZ 1.1 rōšnīh azabar ud tārīgīh azēr u-šān meyānag ī harv do višādagīh būd.

[26] . Pers. tuhīgīh 'void ; space', see 8.73 akanārag tuhīgīh.

Time[27], which I call unlimited. The existent things which are within locality[28] and temporality[29] are seen to be limited.

§56-65. This also: If one says unity or duality about them, whereas unity does not exist except through the total comprising of a thing, for one is that which is not two, and two is the original one and the separation of this one from the other which is not called two; if one be not conceivable except through the total comprising of unity, and duality cannot occur except through the separation of unit from unit, the one is that which is one in unity, and is steadfast in its unity[30]; one and two are in the seed of quantity and numerality; and quantity, numerality, totality, and separation, as I have said, cannot occur except [through] limitation. This is clear even to those with average knowledge.

§ 66-76. Furthermore, the unlimited is that which is not comprised by the science.[31] If it be not possible to be comprised in any science, then it is inevitably not possible to be comprised in the science of god. Thus the essence of God and that of the Dark principle are not totally comprised within the science of god. If his own essence be not comprised within his own science, then to call him all-good and all-seeing is untrue. For, "all" means totality. A totality, because it comprises on all sides, is called "totality". The limitedness of that which is comprised on all sides is inevitable. A god, who is aware that he is

[27] . Pers. zamān 'time ; hour', cf. Dk iv, M 416 akanāragīh ī zamān.

[28] . Pers. gyāg 'place' ≈ Gr. τόπος; Syr. ܕܘܟܐ /ܐܬܪܐ; Lat. locus; Arab. مكان. Pers. gyāgumand ≈ متحيّز.

[29] . Pers. zamān 'time' ≈ Gr. χρόνος; Arab. زمان; Lat. tempus; Syr. ܙܒܢܐ. Pers. zamānīg ≈ Syr. ܙܒܢܝܐ.

[30] . See 1.3.

[31] . Cf. Dk iii, M 293.

comprised on all sides, ought to be considered as limited. If he be unlimited, he is unaware [of it]. The first knowledge of a knowing one concerning himself is the indispensable knowledge of his own essence, quality, and quantity. If one who be unaware of total essence, quality, and quantity, then to state that he is knowing concerning the [essence,] quality, and quantity of others, is untrue.

§ 77-78. This also: Since an unlimited [being] which is not comprised, is not comprised by the science, then he is unaware whether his total essence is wise or ignorant, light or dark, alive or dead.

§ 79-85. Moreover: The light and soul, which we find out hither, is it a particle from that same [essence of] Zurvān or not? If it be a particle from the essence of Zurvān, then we should point them out that: A thing from which a part can be divided, can be itself divisible. That which is divisible cannot be unless it is composite. That which is composite cannot be without a composer by which it is composed. Since a divided part is visibly limited, so also the origin from which the part is made is undoubtedly limited, in accordance with the statement that has been put forward that every result and part bears witness of its origin. Since we find the divided part limited, so also the origin from which [derive] the division [to parts] and the composition of parts, cannot but be limited.

§ 86-93. This also: The unlimited is not divided. For the part is divided from the totality, and totality bears witness of limitation. As I have demonstrated above, we cannot find out the existence and quality of the origin except by comparison and analogy with the result. Whatever is found out in the result (or,

effect), must certainly, in like manner, apply to the origin.[32] When the division and limitation are found out in the result, it may undoubtedly be deduced that the origin from which the result derives is also limited.

§ 94-101. Further: The unlimited is that which is endless in space, and boundless in essence; there is no other place or area that is devoid of it. If it be said that the two principles are unlimited and boundless in essence, then the heavens and earths together with all corporeal beings, spirits, souls, lights, gods, elements[33], and the numerous abodes –whose different names are owing to the difference of one from the other – cannot be bounded. Then inside what, and where, have all these things been created, if the two principles were always endless in space, and how is that possible unless their unlimited essence be made limited, and the place of all that is and was and will be?[34] If it be possible that an ever-unlimited substance become limited, it is certainly possible that it may also become non-existent. What they say about the immutability of substance is untrue.

§ 102-111. You should know that: the unlimited is that which does let nothing be from the first devoid of it; anything else than it cannot exist separate from it. Apart from the limit, the infinity cannot be known. Or, he (i.e. Mani) confusedly discusses and contends and bandies words, about the thing of which he does not know what it is, for leading astray the immature and those of immature knowledge to a road which leads to a well. If he foolishly asserts that: Its essence is unlimited, and its science is

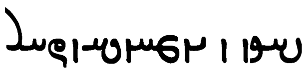
[32] . See 8.24-34.
[33] . amehrspendān lit. ‘holy immortals’ ≈ Syr. ܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܢܘܗܪ̈ܐ, Parth. panj rōšn, Sogd. marδāspend .
[34] . See 11.7.

unlimited, it knows, through its unlimited science, that it is unlimited, that is untrue and doubly untrue. For, once science is about the things which are found out by science, and comprised within science; and nothing can be perfectly known except that which is totally comprised within science and found out by it. Science of a thing is [obtained] by the total knowledge of it; and the total knowledge of a thing is [obtained] by the total comprehension of it within science.

<…>

mādayān

Text



šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār

ped-bun

1

(1) nam[1] ohrmazd x^{v}adāy ī mahist ud dānāg, [vispx^{v}adāy, vispāgāh ud visptuvān, (2) kē andar-z mēnōgān mēnōg. (3) u-š az x^{v}adīh –ped ēkīh ōstīgān – āfrīd[2]. (4) u-š dād, ped x^{v}ēš anhambidīg zōr, abardar šaš[3] amehrspend,][4] ud vispān yazdān ī mēnōgān gētīgān ; (5) ud haft gētīg daxšagān ī hend mardōm, gōspend, ātaš, ayōxšust, zamīg, āb ud urvar. (6) u-š dād mardōm ped sālārīh ī dāmān, ō kāmravāgīh. (7) u-š frēstīd[5], āvām āvām, dēndānāgīh[6] ī abēzagīh ud gumēzagīh, cihrīgīh ud kāmīgīh. (8) ēdōn-z vīr, uš, xrad ud dānišn, bōy, fravahr, ī hend ruvān abzārān ; ī hend āgāhīhx^{v}āstār ī ēn abzārān ī mēnōg panz, ī hend vēnišn, ašnavišn, hambōyišn, caxšišn, permāhišn, (9) ped panz abzārān ī gētīg, ī hend cašm, gōš, vēnīg, dahan, <dast>, hamāg tan mārdārān. (10) u-š, ped ēn abzārān abāgīh, mardōm dād ō rāyēnīdārīh ī dāmān.

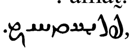
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[1] . nąm : nāma. Jāmāspji’s emendation is not necessary: pa nąm: nāmnā. Cf. the beginning of the Nām Stāyišn.

[2] . āfrīdan: samāracanāya.

[3] . haft : sapta. Cf. Nām Stāyišn 2.

[4] . « The passage in brackets is omitted in several Pahl. MSS., many of which commence at this point, but it is found in K28, BM, and others, and also in the Pāz. MSS. and Sans. version. The first epithet, ‘all-ruling’, which it contains is likewise omitted in a few Pāz. MSS., while others add a further laudatory passage at that point, which is evidently a modern interpolation. The seven archangels include Aûharmazd himself. » West, 117

[5] . āmaṯ: āyāte (Jāmāspji’s emendation: āyāyate). “Should perhaps be , as both words are alike in Huz.” Jamaspasana 4

[6] . u dīn u dānāī : dīneśca jñānasyaca.

(11) u-š dād dēn ī harvispāgāhīh ī mazdesn[7] draxt humānāg, (12) kē-š ēk stūnag, do baxšišn, se azg, cahār sāg[8], panz rēšag[9]. (13) u-š ēk stūnag peymān, (14) do baxšišn kunišn ud pahrēzišn[10], (15) se azg humat hūxt ud huvaršt, ī ast humenišnīh hugōbišnīh ud hukunišnīh, (16) cahār sāg cahār pēšagān ī dēn kē-š gēhān pediš virāyīhed, (17) ī ast āsrōnīh, arsēštārīh, vāstryōšīh ud hudoxšīh, (18) panz rēšag[11] panz pedān ī-šān dēnīg nām mānbed, vīsped, zandbed, dahebed, zarduštrōdum. (19) ud ēk sarān sar, ī ast šāhān šāh dahebed ī gēhān.

(20) u-š andar gēhān ī kōdak, pēdāgēnīd ped humānāgīh ī ēn cahār pēšagān ī gēhān : cōn abar sar āsrōnīh, (22) abar dast arsēštārīh, (23) abar eškamb vāstryōšīh, (24) abar pāy hudoxšīh.

(25) ēdōn-z cahārān hunarān ī andar mardōm, ī ast xēm, hunar, xrad, toxšāgīh: (26) abar xēm āsrōnīh, cōn mahist x^{v}ēškārīh ī āsrōnān xēm, ī šarm ud bīm rāy, vināh nē kunend. (27) abar hunar arsēštārīh, ī ast vāspuhragāndar peyrāyišn ī arsēštārān hunar ī vizārīhed "narīh ī az x^{v}adīh". (28) abar vāstryōšān xrad, ī ast xradīkkārīh[12] varzīdan ī gēhān ud peyvastan ī ō frašegird. (29) abar hudoxšān toxšāgīh, ī ast mahist ravāgēnīdārīh ī-šān pēšag. (30) ēn harv ēvēnag vinārišn abar ēk stūnag, rāstīh ud peymān, pedīrag druz, u-š abzārān ī hambidīg hend.

(31) ēn ī-m ušmurd vasēvēnagīhā, vassardagīhā, cōn vasdēnīh, vasvurravišnīh ī andar āvām kē hamāg ēk abāg did

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7 . mahə̄st : mahā.
8 . də̄šaa: śākhāḥ.
9 . brīšaa: mūlāni.
10 . West : 'performance and abstinence', Menasce : 'agir et s'abstenir'.
11 . brīšaa : mūlāni.
12 . ardīkārī : baliṣṭhakāryiṇī.

hambasān, hambidīg, škastār ud kastār[13] hend, (32) abāg hambasānīh ud škastārīh ud zadārīh ī-šān ēk ō did, pas-iz ēvkirdagīhā, ped ēvzōrīh, pedīrag ēk rāstīh stēzend. (33) rāstīh x^vadīh, ēk zōr, ī ōstīgān ped ēkīh, ī rāstīh. (34) drōv vasēvēnag, ō vas brahm hambasān šāyist būdan hamāgīh az ēk bun ī drōzanīh ast.

(35) hān man ī mardānfarrox ī ohrmazddādān[14] hom, ēn pesāzišn kird. cōn man dīd andar āvām vassardagīh vasdēnīh vasuskārišnīh ī kēšān. (36) ā-m andar ham aburnāydādīh[15] hamvār taftīgmenišnīhā x^vāstār ud vizustār ī rāstīh būd hom. (37) im cim rāy ō-z vas kišvar ud zrehvimand franaft hom. (38) u-m ēn hangirdīg gōbišnān ī aziš ast pursišn ī rāstīhkāmagān, aziš az nibēg ud āyādgār ī pēšēnīg dānāgān rāstān dastvarān, ud nāmcišt hān ī hufravard ādarpādyāvandān[16], cīd ud vizīd, ud ō ēn āyādgār "šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār"[17] nām nihād. (39) cōn ped gumānvizārīh ī nōghamōzagān abēr abāyišnīg ast abar bē dānistan ī rāstīh, ud vābarīgānīh ud rāstīh ī veh dēn, ud andarg škōh[18] judpehikārān. (40) u-m nē dānāgān ud abzārumandān, bē frahangīgān ud nōgabzārān rāy kird ud ārāst, (41) kū dā vasān abar abdīh ud vābarīgānīh ī veh dēn ī pōryōdkēšīg gōbišn abēgumāndar bēnd.

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13 . xastār : kadarthayitāraḥ. West: xastār 'injurer', Menasce: 'nuisible'. Pers. kastār 'diminisher; enemy' (rendering Av. kayaδa), cf. Dk iii, M 82, M 107.

14 . hōrməzddāṯ : hormmijdadādasya putro.

15 . aβarnāedārī : apūrṇanaradātau. Cf. Dk vii, M 621 zardušt ped hān ī aburnāydādīh. Another possible reading: aburnāy-sālīh.

16 . ādarpādyāβaṇdą : ādarapādiāvaṁdasya.

17 . škaṇdgumąnīvazār: skaṁdagumānīgujāra.

18 . škōh : samūheṣu. West: 'dignity', Menasce: 'la misère'.

(42) az-iz vizīdag dānāgān x^vāhišnīg hom (43) kū, kē nigerīdan x^vāhed, mā ō nihangmāyagīh[19] ī guftār ud pesāxtār, bē ō vazurgīh ud[20] rāstīh ud vābarīgānīh ud vimandgōbišnīh ī pēšēnīg dānāgān ē nigered. (44) cē an kē pesāxtār hom, nē pāyag ī hamōzgārīh, bē hān ī hamōzišnīgīh dārom.

(45) u-m rādmenišnīhā gōbišn az hān ī dēndānišnīh ō-z nōghamōzagān baxtan cimīg sahist. (46) cē kē az andak dānišn ī-š ast ō arzānīgān baxšed, pedīrišnīgdar kū kē vas dāned (bē) arzānīgān aziš asūdīh ud anayyārīh. (47) cōn avēšān vizīrēnīd pēšēnīg dānāgān (48) kū rādīh se ēvēnag: menišnīg, gōbišnīg ud kunišnīg. (49) menišnīg rādīh hān kē kadār-z-ē hamgōhrān rāy nēkīh abāyistan ōn cōn x^vēš rāy. (50) rādīh ī ped gōbišn hān kē az harv frārōn dānišn ud āgāhīh ī-š mad ēsted ō arzānīgān hamōzed. (51) cōn hān ī dānāg-ē guft (52) kū: “kāmom kū dānom vispāgāhīh ī sūdbar, ud hamōzom ō frayādān, ud ayābom bar ī abāyišnīg.” (53) rādīh ī ped kunišn hān kē az nēkīh ī-š mad ēsted kadār-z-ē ō arzānīgān nēkīh.

(54) didīgar, āyādēnīdārīh ī vehān ped bōxtruvānīh. (55) im cim rāy man ārāst kū-m dā dānāgān, ped x^vēš x^vābarīh ud hucašmnigerišnīh, ped anōšervānīh āyādēnend. (56) cē guft ēsted kū: kē visp dām ī veh, hucašmīhā, nigered, cašm ī ōy cašm ī x^varšēd ast. (57) cē x^varšēd ō visp dām, hucašmīha, nigerīdār ud brāzēnīdār.

[19] . dīn ī mādagī: dīniṁ lakṣmyāḥ. West: ‘the religion of the particular’, Menasce: ‘l’essentiel de la religion’. Cf. SS 20 cē man xrad nihang.
[20] . i.

2

(1) *darag ī fradum* (2) *abar pursišn ē-cand ī hamē pērōzgar, mihrayyār*[1] *ī muḥammadān, az spāhān, vehmenišnīhā, nē halagx^{v}āhišnīhā pursīd, pāsox* :

(3) hān ī pursīd kū : « ahrmen cē rāy ō rōšnīh vizāyed, ud cōn šāyist būd ka-š nē hamgōhr, ka amā hamē vēnem kū harv cē nē hamgōhr, az judgōhr ōn pahrēzed cōn āb az ātaš ? »

(4) pāsox ēn kū : ahrmen vizāyišn ī-š ō rōšnīh x^{v}ad vahān judgōhrīh ; (5) ud zadārkāmagīh ī-š hamēšagīhā ped gōhr būdan rāy[2] ō judgōhr-š zadār. (6) vizūdagīh, vizāyišn harv cōn baved bē az judgōhrīh ud judgōhrān enyā[3] nē baved. (7) cē hamgōhrān, ēk ō did, hamkāmagīh ud hamsāzagīh beved, nē vizāyišn ud vizūdagīh. (8) ud judgōhrān, hamēstārgōhrīh rāy, harv cōn ō ham rasend, ēk ō did zadār ud vizūdār bend. (9) hamgōhrān, hamsāzagīh ud hamgōhrīh rāy, ka ō ham rasend zīvīhend[4] ud ˣkārīgīhend[5] ud hamayyār hend. (10) višōbišn ud judīh[6] ud anhamīh ī judgōhrān, (11) ōn cōn garmīh sardīh, kē hamēstārgōhrīh rāy, hamēšaggōhrīhā, ēk ō did zadār ud vizūdār, kuxšāg ud višōbāg hend. (12) cē harv višōbišn az sardīh ud

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[1] . mihirayār. Syr. ܡܗܪܝܪ rendered by Sogd. mrxyl.

[2] . būṯ.

[3] . aṇdā : anyathā. Menasce : tāk. Pers. bē … enyā nē ‘except … no’.

[4] . zīβihəṇd : jīvīyaṁti. West : ‘are lively’ ; Menasce : zēvīk hend ‘demeurent en vie’.

[5] . kārī həṇd : kāryīyaṁti. Cf. Dk ix M 789 zīndagīh kārīgēnīdārān.

[6] . jadī i hamgōharą : vibhinnatvaṁ yat ekaratnānāṁ.

huškīh ud garmīh ud x^{v}ēdīh ristagān, (13) ud ēk ō did zadārīh ud vizūdārīh ud hamēstārīh. (14) cē višōbišn ī tanān az hamēšakkuxšišnīh ī garmīh ud sardīh, huškīh ud x^{v}ēdīh. (15) az kuxšišn ī avēšān, ēk ō did, tanān višōbīhend ud agārīhend. (16) āb ud ātaš, x^{v}adgōhrīhā, ēc vizūdārīh nē pēdāg. (17) bē sardīh ī brādrodīg ō x^{v}ēdīh ī āb gumixt ēsted, hamēstār ī garmīh ī ātaš, (18) ud huškīh ī brādrodīg ō garmīh ī ātaš gumixt ēsted hamēstārīhā ō x^{v}ēdīh ī āb vizūdār.

3

(1) hān ī pursīd (2) kū : « cim dādār ohrmazd ahrmen az vad kirdan ud vad x^{v}āstan abāz nē dāred ka tuvānkirdār ast ? (3) ka gōbem kū nē tuvānkirdār, pas nē bavandag, abādyāvand-iz ast. »

(4) pāsox ēn (5) kū : ahrmen vadkunišnīh az vadgōhrīh ud vadkāmagīh ī-š hamēšag ped druz. (6) dādār ohrmezd vīsptuvānīh hān ī abar vīsp šāyed būdan[7] sāmānumand. (7) hān ī-š nē šāyed būdan, tuvān atuvān abar nē gōbīhed[8]. (8) kē gōbed, nē andar vimand ī soxanšnāsīh. (9) cē ka guft kū « nē šāyed būdan », did gōbed kū « yazd pediš tuvānīg », ā-š az vimand ī nē-šāyed-būdan burd. (10) cē pas nē nē-šāyed, bē šāyed būdan. (11) cōn-š tuvān sāmānumand, ōn-z aziš kām. (12) cē frazānag. (13) ud kām ī frazānag harv ō hān ī šāyed būdan. (14) u-š kām ō

[7] . šāyed būdan: śaktīti bhavituṃ.

[8] . juṇbihəṯ : avalaṁbati. West : ‘is not stirred up’, Menasce : jumbihēt ‘agiter (une question)’.

hān ī nē šāyed nē videred. (15) cē harv hān kāmed ī šāyed ud sazed būdan.

(16) agar gōbem kū « dādār ohrmazd ahrmen az vattarīh ī-š hamēšag gōhrīg abāz dāštan tuvān », (17) ā gōhr ī dēvīg ō yazdīg ud hān ī yazdīg ō dēvīg vardēnīdan šāyed, (18) ud tār rōšn ud rōšn tār kirdan šāyed. (19) gōhr ped x^vadīh vaštan gōhr-nē-šnāsān gōbend, (20) kē vizihišn[9] ī gōhr andar kunišn ud jadišn (jahišn)[10] anešnās, (21) ud gurg xrafstar ped nēkīh hangārend. (22) cōn anāgīh ud vad ī az mardōm ud gōspend, nē x^vēšgōhrīhā, bē az vināhišn, frēbišn, vībišn[11] ud viyābānīh ī druz, (23) az ham vattarīh ī abārīg druz, cōn kēn (/ xēn) ud xēšm ud varan ī gumixtag ō mardōm. (24) cōn x^vardan ī dārūg ī taxl ī zahrgumixtag, nē nēkīhpardazišnīh[12], bē spuxtan ī dard ud vēmārīh ī az bē-gōhr rāy. (25) cōn soxan ī rāst ud drōv (26) ī ka, ast ī ka[13] ped soxan-ē ī drōv, ahlav mard az vas anāgīh bōxted, ud ped hān ī rāst ēraxted. (27) frāyist hān nēkīh nē az drōvgōbišnīh, bē az spuxtan ī zadārīh ud vattarīh ī gumixtag ō

[9] . vazīhašni : parīkṣāyāḥ. As Neryōsang uses Skt. parīkṣā 'investigation, inspection' to translate the Pārsīg word, he must have assumed that it stood for vizōhišn. West : « Pāz. vazīhašn, probably a misreading of Pahl. uzdahišn.' Pers. vizihišn 'distinction, act of keeping apart', cf. Dk iii M 181 abar vizihišn ī andarg yazdīg nīrang ud var abdīh dēvīg abārōn nīrang ud jādūgīh vidimās.

[10] . gadašni : calaneca. Menasce : gatišn 'propriété, qualité'.

[11] . nyāžašni : nāstikyāt. Menasce : nyāzišn 'concupiscence'. Pers. اویو ایبیو /viyeb-, viheb-, vīb-/ ([M]Pers. wyyb-) 'to seduce, allure, deceive, err', viyebišn/ vībišn 'deception, delusion, error, πλάνη', cf. 10.26 vīftagīh ud viyābānīh ī ruvān.

[12] . nəkīfrīžašnī : śubhasya visphītaye. West's emendation : nēkī-pardazišnī 'accomplishment of happiness'. Menasce : nēvakīh-frēpišn.

[13] . hamtan : samgraṁ tanuḥ. West : 'connected (with)', Menasce : 'ensemble'. For ast ī ka, see VZ 29.8.

vattarān ; (28) hān-z anāgīh nē az rāstgōbišnīh, bē az vattarīh ī gumixtag ō vattarān.

(29) az-iz hān ī ka hamēstārān ēk ēk x^{v}ēš hambidīg spuxtan cihrēnīd ēstend, (30) harv ēk hān ī x^{v}ēš hamēstār abāz dāštan ādōg hend. (31) cōn rōšnīh tārīkīh, hubōyīh dušgennīh, kirbag bazag, hudānāgīh dušdānāgīh. (32) hān nē ādōg rōšnīh dušgennīh, ud nē hubōyīh tārīkīh abāz dāštan. (33) bē jud jud hān ī x^{v}ēš hamēstār abāz dāštan cihrēnīd ēstend. (34) hān-z ī gōbend kū ped šab ī tārīk ahlav mard az šagrān ud gurgān ud sagān ud duzān bōxted, (35) ped rōz ī rōšn andar dast-išān[14] grav baved, (36) hān nē ped nēkīh ī az tārīkīh, nē-z ped anāgīh ī az rōšnīh dāštan sazed. (37) cē rōšnīh ped spuxtan ī tārīkīh dād ēsted, nē ped abāz dāštan ī šagr ud gurg ud xrafstarān ud abārīg vas ī ped ēn šōn.

(38) dagrandīh rāy ō hangirdīg handāxt, ašmā pērōzgarān nēkīh šnāxtārīh (39) ōn kū az dēn vas ayābed.

4

(1) ud hān ī pursīd (2) kū : « ka hamē vēnem kū hamāg tis az spihr ud stāragān hamē baved, (3) ud ēn spihr kē dād, pas ham hān ast ī vurravišnīgān[15] gōbend kū nēk ud vad ōy dād. (4) agar

[14] . dast vašą (JJ, JE dast šą) : hasteṣu teṣāṁ.

[15] . vīrōt̰.dīnīą (اولوسوروس) : gvīrodadīnīyāḥ. Bharucha’s emendation. Arab. مؤمنين ‘believers ; Muslims’. Degener makes this strange remark : « … anscheinend mit einer bewußt korrupten, ‘verspottenden’ Pazand-Transkription des geläufigen Pahlavi-Wortes. »

ahrmen dād, ēn abd tis kār ōy cōn tuvān būd dādan ? (5) cē rāy ka ast stārag kē-šān nēkīh abāgīh aziš hamē baxšīhed. (6) agar ohrmazd ud ahrmen ped hampursagīh dād, pas ōn pēdāg kū ohrmazd ped vināh ud vad ī az spihr hamē baved, abāg ahrmen hamvināh hambāy. »

(7) pāsox ēn (8) kū : spihr gyāg ī bayān ī nēkīh baxtārān kē-šān harv nēkīhbaxtārīh aziš hamē baxšend rāstīhā. (9) ud haftān starkirbān perīgān ī azēr avēšān dvārend, appurdārān ī judbaxtārān, (10) kē-šān dēnīg nām gayōgān. (11) dādār ohrmazd nizūmānagīhā[16] frazānagīhā ārāstārīh ī ēn dām ud dahišn ud peyvastārīh ī <ō> frašegird rāy, (12) cōn gennāgmēnōg andarōn asmān pēcīd, ōy druz dušdānāgīhā zūrmihōxtīhā abāg vas sardag bazagān ud druzān ī tamtōmagān ō rōšnīh parvast[17] ud gumixt kū « ēn dām dahišn ī ohrmazd anast kunum, ayāb ō x^vēš šāyum kirdan. » (13) avēšān rōšnān abardum ī vehīgān, harvipāgāhīh rāy, ō hān ī druz halakkārīh ud zūrmihōxtīh āgāh būd ; (14) ēn-z kū-š ēn nirōg kē-š ēn halakkārīh ud viznedgārīh aziš uzīyed[18] cē sāmānag, (15) ōn kū-š az nūn ēc nirōg ī ped abāzārāstārīh ī az bavandagmārdārīh[19] ī bann ud dard ud pēcīdagīh ī andarōn asmān nē baved. (16) ā-š frazānagīhā cōn-š ōy druz ō rōšnān parvast ud pēcīd, ēgiš hamāg zōrān abzārān ī-šān[20] bazagān druzān ī vas sardag jud jud ped x^vēš kāmišngarīh nē hištan rāy, ast ī ō stī ī rōšnān gumixtag, (17)

[16] . vicumānahihā : vivekatayā. Menasce's emendation : nēzūmānīhā 'avec habileté'. Cf. 5.55, 8.71, 9.31.

[17] . faraβast : prasṛptaḥ. West's emendation : parvast 'encompassed'. Menasce : frajast 'ayant bondi (vers)'.

[18] . x^važəṯ : apayāsyati.

[19] . buṇdaa māladārī :saṃpūrṇamārjjanāt. West : 'complete daubing', Menasce : bavandak mālītārīh 'l'usure complete'. Pers. mār-: -d 'to perceive, notice, feel, sense', cf. Dk ix, M 804.

[20] . ašą : teṣāṁ. Menasce : āšān.

cōn druzīg zahr ī xrafstarīg kē cahār zahagān ī ohrmazdīg peymuxt dārend. (18) cē agar ēn druzīg zahr ī xrafstarīg ō cahār zahagān ī tanēgirdīg ī ohrmazdīg, ī ast āb ud ātaš ud gil ud vād, pēcīd nē ēstend, ham-cōn ō asmān mēnōgīg mad hend. (19) agar ped mēnōgīh ud a-tanīh būd hend, ah dām ī ohrmazd pahrixtan, ud rastan az hān ī avēšān zahr ī dēvīg nē šāyist hē ; (20) ud andar gravīgīh[21] ud nihaxt[22] ōn gumixt hād ī mardōm ud abārīg dām vinārišn ud barišn ud abzāyišn ud vaxšišn nē šāyist hād.

(21) ōn-z avēšān abāxtarān rōšnīh peymuxt dārend cōn druzīg zahr ī xrafstarān andar stī ī rōšnān. (22) hān-z rāy az mārsardag ī zahrvidāz ud az abārīg dadān xrafstarān vasān sūdīg tis astīh pēdāg, (23) ōn-z az abāxtarān hamgumēzišnīh ī azērbrāhīh ī rōšnān rāy nēkīh azišān pēdāgīhed. (24) hangōšīdag ī ēn abāxtarān nēkīh ī avēšān hamē baxšend, (25) ōn cōn gayōgān ud rāhdārān ī andar kārevān ī vāzāragānān rāh brīnend, (26) vasān tis ī māyagīg apparend, (27) nē ō x^{v}ēškārān ud arzānīgān, bē ō vināhgārān ud ax^{v}ēškārān ud jahīgān ud rūspīgān ud anarzānīgān baxšend ud dahend.

(28) ēn-z kū : ēn kirbakkarīh ī starhangārān az avēšān abāxtarān hangārend ud gōbend, hān cim rāy (29) ka-šān cōnīh ī bayān, ī nēkīhbaxtārīh, ud hān-z ī panz stārag ī ohrmazdīg, ī ast mēx[23] ī bālistīg ī handāzišnīg, haftōring ī mazdadād, vanand, sadvēs ud tištar stārag, andar gayōgān anāgīhbaxtārān nē vizīd ēstend, (30) ud hān panz abāxtar ī ped starkirbīh azēr avēšān dvārend ud rōšnīh peymuxt dārend, ī ast kēvān ud ohrmazd ud

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[21] . grōhī : grāhe.

[22] . vāṯ : pavane. West : vād ‘breath’, Menasce : u hakar ‘et si’. Pers. nihanz-/ nihenz- (Parth. nihenj-) : nihaxt ‘to hold back, refrain ; retain’ (Armen. nahanǰ-im ‘to retire, fall back, retreat’).

[23] . məh : mahatyaḥ, məh i bālistī : mahatyaḥ uccaistarāḥ.

vahrām ud anāhīd ud tīr. (31) cōn stārag ī bālistīg mēx (32) pedīrag kēvān ; haftōring ī mazdadād pedīrag ohrmezd ; (34) vanand ī xrafstarzadār pedīrag vahrām ; (35) star ī sadvēs pedīrag anāhīd ; (36) tištar stārag pedīrag tīr ī abāxtarīg. (37) nēkīh ī az avēšān gayōgān gōbend az hān panz stārag ī ohrmazdīg, (38) cōn vēšnirōgīh ud kamvizūdārīh ud pērōzīh ayābend.

(39) ud ēn panz abāxtar, dādār ohrmazd, x^{v}ēškāmagīhā nē hištan rāy, harv ēk ped do zīg ō mihr ud māh bast ēstend. (40) u-šān frāzravišnīh ud abāzravišnīh az ham cim. (41) ast kē-š drahnāy ī zīg drāzdar cōn kēvān ud ohrmezd <ud vahrām> ; (42) ud ast ī kehdar cōn tīr ud anāhīd. (43) harv ka ō abdum ī zīg šavend, ped pas abāz āhanzend. (44) u-šān x^{v}ēškāmagīhā raftan nē hilend, (45) kū dām nē vināhend.

(46) ud hān do druz ī meh-ōz, ī hend mihr ud māh ī abāxtarīg, hamēstārīhā, azēr brāh ī do rōšnān ravend. (47) anī hān-z ī x^{v}ānīhed mūšperīg, ī ast stārag gayōg, azēr brāh ī mihr bast est ; (48) ud ka az bann dūr baved, ped hān axtar ī-š andar jahed, ped kust ī hān kē hān axtar x^{v}ēškārīh, vizend ud anāgīh kuned, (49) dā did abāz bannag ud gravīg[24] ī mihr baved.

(50) soxan ī pediš barend (51) ēn ast : ardīg ī abarīgān andar star pāyag. (52) ud azēr[25] ī avēšān ardīg ī tištar ud spanzaγr dēv, (53) ud ātaš ī vāzišt ud apōš dēv, (54) ud abārīg veh mēnōgān ī abāg tamīgān, ped vārānkirdārīh ud sūdbaxtārīh ī ō dāmān. (55) azēr ī avēšān mardōm ud gōspend xrafstar ud mar ud abārīg dām ī veh ud vattar. (56) cē jadišn abāg mardōm gumixt ēsted, (57) ī

[24] . baṇdaa grōhī : baṁdhagrāhe. West : ‘bound *and* fettered’, Menasce: bavandak grawīh ‘complètement sous l’emprise (de)’.

[25] . əž ažōr : adhastāt.

ast āz ud varan ud kēn ud xēšm ud būšyāsp, (58) ud xrad ud xēm ud hunar ud dānišn ud uš ud vīr, (59) cōn juxt[26] ī veh ud juxt ī vattar ī gōbīhed ī vahān hend ī kirbag ud vināh.

(60) ēn hamāg nēkīh ī dām frāyist az dādār ī dām (61) kē ast x^{v}ad bizešk ud drustbed, pānāg ud dāštār ud parvarāg ud pahristār[27] ud būzāg ī x^{v}ēšān dāmān ; (62) u-š ō x^{v}ēšān dāmān cār ī az anāgīh bōxtan, ud abzār ī az bazagīh pahrixtan, bavandagīhā dād ud hamuxt ēsted.

(63) u-š hangōšīdag ōn cōn bāv x^{v}adāy, ud bōyestānbān ī dānāg kē-š dad ud murv ī vināhgār ud zadār ped tabāhēnīdan ī bar ī draxtān ō bāv kāmend[28] vizūdan, (64) ud ōy bāvbān ī dānāg, pedisāy kamranzīh ī x^{v}ēš abāz dāštan ī hān dad ī vināhgār az x^{v}ēš bāv rāy, abzār ī ped griftan šāyed ī hān dad ārāyed. (65) cōn talag ud dām ud cīnag ī parrendag (66) kū ka dad cīnag vēned, u-š ruzdagīhā[29] kāmed raftan, ped anāgāhīh ī talag ud dām andar-š gravīhed. (67) ēn āšnāg kū dad ka ō dām ōfted, nē abarvēzīh ī dām, bē hān ī dām ārāstār. (68) ped hān dad andar dām gravīhed (69) ī mērag bāv x^{v}adāy ī dām ārāstār ped dānāgīh āgāh kū hān dad nirōg dā cē sāmānag ud cand zamān. (70) hān

[26] . vīnāxta : guṇāḥ. West : nīvāxta ‘influence’, Menasce : vēnāxt ‘tempérament’. The original word could have been written [Pahlavi script] /juxt/, see DD 0.10 [Pahlavi script] /juxtīh/. Cf. Y 46.11 (the yoking of a man with evil actions) and Y 49.9 (yoking together with truth).

[27] . paharə̄xtār : prayatnayitā. Pers. pahrēz- : pahrist (Parth. parxēz- : parxāšt) ‘to protect, take care of, tend, care for’. (pahrēz-: pahrixt ‘to abstain, restrain oneself’)

[28] . kāmət̰ : apekṣeta.

[29] . raṇjaihā : āyāsatayā. West : ‘with suspicion’, Menasce : ‘avec peine’ (« elle s’efforce de … »). Pers. ruzd ‘greedy’ (رژد، رزد ‘glutton ; voracious’), cf. AJ 11 ped marzišn ī zanān ruzd baved. Pers. rwzdyh، ’’rwγṯky’ /ruzdīhā <par> āruγdakyā/ (Henning, Sogdica, 46).

dad nirōg ud zōr ī-š andar tan ped kuxšīdārīh agārīhed, ud rebīhed[30], candiš tuvān ped dām kandan ud talag škastan ud tabāhēnīdan kuxšīdan. (71) ud ka-š abavandagnirōgīh rāy, nirōg ī kuxšāg uzīyed[31] ud agārīhed, pas hān bāvbān ī dānāg, ped x^{v}ēš kāmaghanzāmīh[32], bar x^{v}ēš, dānāgīhā hān dad az dām bērōn abganed, xastgōhrīhā[33] ud agārnirōgīhā[34]. (72) x^{v}ēš dām ud talag abāzārāstārīhā ud avizendīhā abāz ō ganz abespāred.

(73) ōy-iz mānāg ast dādār ohrmazd ī dahišnān bōxtār ud dām ārāstār ud vad bunēštag agārēnīdār ; ud bāv ī x^{v}ēš az vizūdār pādār. (74) dad ī vināhgār ī bāv tabāhēnīdār ōy guzastag ahrmen ī dām avištāftār[35], pedyāragēnīdār ī (75) dām ī veh. asmān kē-š veh dahišnān andar mehmān hend, (76) kē-š gennāg mēnōg ud vihūdagān hāmis andar gravīg hend, (77) ōy talag ud dām ī dad ī vināhgār az x^{v}ēš kāmišngarīh agārēnīdār. (78) zamān ī ped kuxšīdārīh ī ahrmen, u-š zōrān ud abzārān, dagrand (79) ī ped kuxšīdārīh ī dad andar talag ud dām ī agārīhed ī-š nirōg (80) abāz dādār, ī dāmān bōxtan ī-š az pedyārag, jāyēdānag

[30] . rə̄žihəṯ : riktāyate. West : ‘(is) poured out’, Menasce : virēcīhet ‘s’épuisent’. Pers. rebīh- passive denom. ‘to become infirme’ from reb ‘defective’ < *rapah- nt. ‘bodily defect’ (Skt. rapas- ‘bodily defect, infirmity, disease’, Sogd. ryph/ ryβh ‘defectiveness, disease’, pw ryph ‘without bodily defect or disease’, ryp’w ‘defective, infirm’), cf. Dk viii, M 726 vēmār ud rišt ud rebag ud āhōgumand gōspend.

[31] . x^{v}azəṯ : vyayati.

[32] . kām u aṇjāmī : (svīy)ecchayā paripākāya. Cf. AV 172, Ēvēnag ī nāmagnibēsišnīh 16.

[33] . hastgōharihā : ratnasattayā. West : ‘with existing nature’ (Dagener : ‘in einem Zustand, in dem sein Wesen existiert’). Menasce’s emendation: xast-gōhrīhā. Pers. xast ‘wounded’.

[34] . āgārnīrōihā : vilīnaprāṇtayā.

[35] .dąmą štāftār : sṛṣṭīnāṁ saṁtāpayituḥ.

nēkravišnīh vinārdan, abāz[36] ārāstan[37] ī ōy bāv x^{v}adāy ī dānāg x^{v}ēš dām ud talag.

(81) enyā, kamnirōgīh ud abēhangīh ī ōy druz andar kuxšišn ī-š rōšnān az-iz ēn pēdāg (82) ka cōn-š zūrmihōxtīhā mened kū « ēn asmān ud zamīg ud hān ī ohrmazd dām anast kunum, ayāb az x^{v}ēš gōhr vardēnum ud ō x^{v}ēšīh barum », (83) ēg-iz abāg druz-nirōgīh ud zadārkāmagīh ud hamēšakkuxšišnīh ī az tuvānsāmān ēc rāy[38], ud kuxšišn ī dēvān, ast ēn zamīg ud asmān ud ēn dām, (84) ī az andak ō vas āzāyišnīg[39], cōn pēdāg. (85) amaragān-z pediš xustūgīh[40]. (86) cē agar andar ēn kuxšišn ēc abarvēzīh frāyist būd hē, az andak ō vas madan a-šāyist hē.

(87) agar-z zāyišn ī gētīg frāyist pediš margīhrasišnīh pēdāg, ēg-iz vēnīhed kū hān margīh nē astīh bavandag agārīh, bē vihēz[41] ī az gyāg ō gyāg ud az kār ō kār. (88) cē cōn hāmōyēn dahišnān bavišn az cahār zahagān ī-šān[42] gētīg tan, abāz ō cahār zahagān gumēzīhistan ōy vēnābdāg pēdāg. (89) mēnōgān ī tan rāyēnāg, gyān hāmis abzārān, ō ruvān gumēzīhend. (90) ēvcihrīh rāy nē višōbīhend. (91) ud ruvān az hān ī x^{v}ēš kunišn āmārīhend. (92) u-š ganzvar kē-š kirbag ud bazag aviš abespārd, ānōh frāz rasend pediš kuxšīdārīh. (93) ud ka ganzvar ī kirbag meh-ōz, ā-š ped abarvēzīh az hamēmāl dast būzed, ō mehgāhīh ud rōšnān ī

36 . aβāž (K 28, S om.) : Skt. om. West: əβāž ‘sole’.

37 . ārāeṯ : āracayati.

38 . həci nə. Cf. X^{v}R I.8 ēc rāy pid ud mād mā bēšed !

39 . azāišnī : upaciti. West’s emendation. āzāy- = abzāy- < abi-gu.

40 . amaragąnica padaš x^{v}astuī : anekānāṁca tena pratyayaḥ. Cf. Cim ī kustīg, 51.

41 . nyāž : daridratvaṁ. West : ‘necessity of *going*’, Menasce: vixāz ‘tendance’. Cf. Dk v, M 457 hambidīg ped vihēz ī az gyāg ō gyāg andar tuhīgīh mad.

42 . ąšą : tāsāṁ-ca. Menasce’s emendation.

hāmx^{v}ašīh ahrāmed[43] ; (94) ud jāyēdān nēkravišnīhā frayādīhed. (95) ka-š ganzvar ī bazag meh-ōz, ā-š ped abarvēzīh az ayyār dast kašīhed, (96) ō gyāg ī pāzišn ud šōyišn, ud vēmārestān ī sardgar[44] abespārīhed ; (97) u-š ānōh-iz hān x^{v}azārag kirbag ī-š gētīgīhā varzīd nē agārīhed, (98) cē-š, im cim rāy, hān šōyišn ud pāzišn ud pādifrāh, vināhsāmānīhā, nē adādīhā. (99) cē-š pādifrāhēnīdan pādār. (100) ud abdum, x^{v}ābar dādār ī dām abaxšāyīdār, ēc dām ī veh andar dastgravīh ī dušmen nē hiled ; (101) ud hān-z ī vināhgār jumā hān ī ahlavān ped vizārdārīh ī vināh az yōždāhrgarān dast būzed ud ō nēkravišnīh ī jāyēdānag zāmēned.

(102) hangird ēn kū : dādār, bizešk ud drustbed ud dāštār ud parvardār ud pānāg ud būzāg ī dāmān, nē vēmārgar ud dardēnīdār ud pādifrāhgar ī x^{v}ēš dām. (103) ud ast ī gōvizārdar azēr nibišt abāg do bunēštag vinārdārīh, andarg nēstyazdgōbān ud ēkīhuskārān.

(104) cōn-tān framūd ud x^{v}āst, peyrāst ēsted. hucašmīhā framāyed nigerīdan[45] ! (105) cē cōn-mān azabar nibišt, nē pāyag ī hamōzgārīh, bē hān ī hamōzišnīgīh dārum. (106) ēn-z dēnīhā hamōz, ī-m ped nihang xrad[46], az nibēg ī ādarpādyāvandān ayāft ud ēdar nišānēnīd. (107) u-š hamōzagān andar dēngird nibēg ī agrī frazānag ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān, ī hudēnān pēšobāy būd, az dēn dānāgīh vizārd ī ast hazārdarag.

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[43] . hamx^{v}ašī ārāβət̰ (JE ārāmət̰) : sarvvasukhatāmāsādayati. hāmx^{v}ašīh = hamāgx^{v}ārīh (Av. vīspō.x^{v}āθra). Cf. MX 2. 145-146.

[44] . dardgar : pīḍākare. West : ‘agonizing’, Menasce : vīmārastān ī dartkar ‘lieu de la maladie et de la torture’.

[45] . u nigarə̄t̰ : paśyeta.

[46] . dīn i xard : dīnyā buddheḥ. West : ‘the religion of wisdom’. Cf. SS 20 cē man xrad nihang.

(108) hān-z ī-tān abar akanāragīh ud kanāragumandīh pursīd, azēr nibišt-um. ped yazdān kām.

darag ī didīgar

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(1) *anī darag andarg ī nēst-yazd-gōbān, ud abar astīh <ī> yazd u-š hambidīg.*

(2) astīh ī yazd u-š hambidīg xrad-pedīrišnīg dānišn ud gōbāgīh vimandsoxanīhā. (3) hangird ēn ē framāyed dānistan[1] kū: abardum, fradum, ud avizīrišnīgdum[2] dānišn yazd šnāxtan ast. (4) kē-š ēn dānišn nē pēšobāy ī dānišnān, ā-š abārīg dānišn a-frayād. (5) yazd šnāxtan ped uš ī avinast, ud vīr ī tēz (ud ayābāg)[3] ud xrad ī vizināg šāyed. (6) cē yazd šnāxtan nē ēn and vas kū dāned kū yazd ast. (7) cē kē vahmān tis ped astīh āgāh, u-š az cōnīh anāgāh, ēn kū hān tis veh ayāb vattar, hudānāg ayāb dušdānāg, anōš ayāb zahr, sard ud afsurd ayāb garm ud vidāzāg[4], hušk ud hōšēnāg ayāb x^vēd ud namēnāg[5], (8) ud ka-š az cōnīh anāgāh, ēgiš ast ēvāz dānistan a-sūd. (9) cē stāyišn ud nikōhišn ī kas ud tis nē ped astīh, bē ped cōnīh šāyed kirdan.

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1 . ə farmāyast dānəṯ : samādiṣṭaṁ jānīyāt.

2 . x^vazīrašnītum : sūkṣmataraṁ. West : 'most suitable for the well-discerning', Menasce : huzīrišnīktōm 'le plus spirituel'. Pers. a-vizīrišnīg 'inevitable, indispensable, unavoidable' (Dk iii, M 246, iv, M 424, ix, M 805) ≈ Syr. ܠܐ ܡܬܥܪܩܢܐ.

3 . tāβāā : tīvratareṇa. West : 'fervent', Menasce : tāpāk 'ardent'. Cf. HAM 147 frazend ī tēz-vīr ī nēk, MX 28.11 vīr ī mardōmān tēzdar, PDK 31 ayābāg vīr, DD 2.13 vīr ī ayābāg.

4 . tāβāā : sadravaṁ. West : 'scorching', Menasce : tāpāk 'brûlant'. Pers. vidāzāg 'melting, molten'.

5 . mīnāā (Skt. om.). Menasce : mīnāk 'cristalline'. Pers. namēnāk (نمناک 'damp').

(10) ēn-z ē framāyed dānistan[6] kū: dānistan ī tis ped se ēvēnag: (11) ped acār-dānišnīh, ayāb hangōšīdag-dānišnīh, ayāb ped šāyed ud sazed būdan.

(12) acārdānišnīh ōn cōn ēk bār[7] ēk ēk, do bār do cahār. (13) cē andar vimand ī acārīgīh-iz nē šāyed guftan (14) kū: būd ud baved zamān-ē ayāb gyāg-ē kū do bār do panz ayāb si gōbīhed.

(15) hangōšīdagdānišnīh hān kē az pēdāgīg tis, hān ī nē pēdāg pēdāgīhed. (16) ud az vēnābdāg tis a-vēnābdāg tis, ped hangōšīdag ī dast-abar-nihād[8] āvared ō handēmānīh ī vēnišn ī xrad, (17) ped spurrīgmānāgīh, humānāgīh[9], ud humānāgbahrīh. (18) spurrīgmānāg[10] ōn cōn mardōm ī pārs ō mardōm ī anī šahr. (19) ud humānāg ōn cōn panīr ō spēdag ī xāyag. (20) ud humānāgbahr ōn cōn panīr ō gac. (21) cē ēn az vimand ī humānāgbahr, cōn panīr ō gac ēvāz ped spēdīh mānāg; (22) spēdag ī xāyag ped spēdīh ud x^{v}arišn-z (x^{v}arišnīgīh-iz)[11]. (23) ud ast-iz kē humānāg humānāgdar, ud humānāgbahr humānāgbahrdar gōbīhed. (24) hān ī spurrīghumānāgdar abar nē gōbīhed. (25) cē spurrīg spurrīgdar nē baved. (26) az ēn ēvēnag gugān[12] vas, dagrandīh rāy, frāz hišt.

(27) az vēnābdāg tis avēnābdāg nimūdan ōn cōn az kirdag ud dāštag tis kē kirdār ud dāštār nē handēmān, ud az nibištag tis kē-š nibištār nē pēdāg, (29) pēdāgīhed kirdār ī hān kirdag, ud dāštār

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[6] . ə̄ farmāyast dānəṯ : samādiṣṭaṁ jānīyāt.
[7] . bahar : vibhāga. Bharucha's emendation. Menasce : bahr. Cf. Bērōnī :
«سه بار دو بار، یا دو بار سه بار، شش بار بود.» تفهیم، ۲۴
[8] . dast abar nahāṯ : hastauparinyastena. See 10.65.
[9] . humānā : upamānena.
[10] . spurī mānāī : pūrṇopamānaṁ.
[11] . x^{v}arašnica : khādyenaca.
[12] . dugą : vistīrṇaṁ.

ī hān dāštag, ud nibištār ī hān nibištag acārīg, (30) cōn-š nimūd tis ī pēdāg ud vēnābdāg hān ī abēdāg ud avēnābdāg.

(31) hān ī andar šāyed ud sazed būdan āgāhīh vurravišnīg. (32) cōn kē gōbed kū-m dīd mard-ē kē-š šagr-ē, ayāb šagr-ē kē-š mard-ē bē ōzad. (33) ud ēn hān ī andar šāyed ud sazed būdan vimand šāyed drōv. (34) bē ka hān āgāhīh mard gōbed kē ped rāstīh husrav, ud ped vizurdīh uzmūdag, ā andar rāstīh ud astīh vimand. (35) agar mard gōbed kē ped drōzanīh dusrav, ud ped avizurdīh uzmūdag, ā andar vimand ī drōvīh ud anastīh.

(36) anī ēvēnag ī az ēn bērōn vimand ī acārīg nē būd (ud) nē šāyed. (37) cōn kē gōbed kū: "gēhān ped nihānīgīh andar andarōn xāyag-ē burden šāyed", (38) ayāb "pīl-ē andar sūrāg-ē ī sōzan vidurdan šāyed, (39) ōn ka ēk-iz nē meh baved ud nē keh", (40) ayāb "gōhr tis ī nē-bun", (41) ud "kuxšišn ī nē kanāragumandīhā", (42) ud "astag tis ī nē zamānumand ud gyāgumand", (43) ayāb "gyāgumand nē kanāragumand", (44) ud "jumbišn vihēzag[13] ī tuhīg", (45) ud abārīg ī az ēn šōn guftan ud handēšīdan zīfān[14] ud drōv ud nē šāyed.

(46) enyā astīh ī āfurāg[15] yazd, jud az hān ī cihrmārišnīh[16] ud anī gugāyīh, ped acārīg ud hangōšīdagīg dānišn, (47) pēš vēnišn ī xrad ōn vēnābdāg cōn az bahrumandīh ud kirdagīh ud pesāxtagīh ī az vas ēvēnag judsān[17] tis, kirdagīh ī gēhān ud

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[13] . afaē : tālikayā (Skt. tālika- 'the palm of the hand'). West: hapa-ē 'a palm of the hand', Menasce : apē (apē tūhīk 'sans qu'il y ait de vide').

[14] . zaspą : kutsitaṁ.

[15] . āfrāā : ādeṣṭuḥ. West : 'exalted', Menasce : afrāz 'très haut'. Pers. āfurāg 'creating (in the spiritual state) ; who invokes blessings on', cf. Dk iii, M 169.

[16] . ciharmālašnī : rupasparśanatvaṁ.

[17] . jaṯ saxun : vibhinna-vacana-. Cf. Dk viii, M 720 dah judsān ayyār.

mardōm kē-šān bahrān abzārān ī aziš, cōn tan, gyān, zahagān kē aziš pesāxt ud kird ēstend, (48) ī ast: ātaš ud āb ud vād ud zamīg, (49) ī jud jud ped x^vēš kār rāyēnišn ōn cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd ēstend (50) kū, ātaš ped x^vēšcihrīh ud vāspuhragānīh kār ōn kū-š kār ī āb, vād, zamīg nē ādōg rāyēnīdan. (51) ēdōn-z āb ped x^vēšcihrīh <ud vāspuhragānīh> kār ōn cōn kū-š kār ī vād, ātaš, zamīg nē [ādōg]. (52) ēdōn-z vād kār ī ātaš, āb, zamīg nē. (53) ēdōn-z zamīg kār ī avēšān rāyēnīdan nē ādōg. (54) bē jud jud ped hān ī x^vēš kār cōn vāspuhragānēnīd ud cihrēnīd ēstend, (55) az ōy ī cihrēnīdār ud pesāxtār ud vāspuhragānēnīdār frazānagīhā ud nizūmānagīhā, (56) cōn ō hān kār abāyišnīg ud pessazag pesāxt, virāst, cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd.

(57) ōn-z mardōm ud abārīg dām kē zahagumand ī ēn zahagān, (58) kē-šān pesāxtagīh ī ast ud pid[18] ud pay ud rag ud pōst jud jud, (59) ēk ō did abyuxtagīh[19] āgenīn vēnābdāg. (60) ēdōn-z vāspuhragānīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī hannāmān ī andarōnīg, (61) cōn jagar, spul[20], šuš, gurdag, ud zahr pōšišn, abārīg abzārān kē harv ēk az-išān x^vēškārīh-ē pēdāg, (62) avišān pādemār cihrēnīd ud vāspuhragānēnīd ēstend ped hān ī-šān x^vēš kār.

(63) ēdōn-z cašm, gōš, vēnīg, uzvān, dahan, dandān, dast, pāy, ud abārīg abzārān ī bērōnīg kē-šān jud jud x^vēškārīh cihrēnīdagīh (64) vēnābdāg pediš pēdāg, ōn ka ēk az avēšān hannāmān agār, hān ī did ped kār ī ōy ī did kē-š aviš nē cihrēnīd

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18 . paṯ : medo. West: ‘fat’. Cf. FO 10 pitum : pid ud gōšt.

19 . aβə̄vīnāxtaī : anaikyaṁ. West : ‘want of sympathy’, Menasce : apēvēnāxtakīh ‘la disparité’. Pers. abyōz-: abyuxt ‘to join, attach; mix’, abyuxt(ag) ‘joined; mixed’, cf. Dk iv, M 410, 415.

20 . daβur : kālakhaṁḍaṁ. Jāmāspji : For Pl . [illegible], Pers. سپرز.

ēsted nē šāyed. (65) ud ka ēvāz ō pesāxtagīh ī ēk az hannāmān ī tan nigerīhed kū cōn abd frazānagīh pesāxt ēsted :

(66) cōn cašm ī az vas ēvēnag judnām ud judkār. (67) cōn mijag[21] ud tōb[22], spēdag ud xāyag, syāhag[23] ud tēdag. (68) ōn kū spēdag pay[24] ast, (69) syāhag āb, ī ped rag[25] ī pay[26] ōn ēstadag kū-š vardišn ī cašm az kust ō kust pediš baved. (70) tēdag x^vad vēnāgīh ast cōn vēnāgīh ī andar āb. (71) syāhag ped rag ī spēdag ēsted cōn ēstišn ī āb ped rag ī pay[27]. (72) ud tēdag andar syāhag cōn vēnāgīh ī tis andar rōšn āb, (73) ud dīdan[28] ī kālbod andar āyēnag ī rōšn. (74) ud spēdag ī gabrīhā[29] vināristan ped hān cim kū xāk gard ī az andarvāy ka ō cašm rased pediš nē ōftād[30], (75) ō dumb[31] ī cašm vardād, (76) ud vēnišn ī cašm mā tabāhēnād.

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21 . mazg : bhrū (Skt. bhrū ‘eyebrow’).

22 . tōβ : puṭe (Skt. puṭa ‘hollow space, pocket ; eyelid’). West: ‘eyelid’, Menasce: tuf ‘salive; humeur’. Pers. tōb ‘layer’, (توب ‘the eye’), cf. VZ 30.4 tanegirdīg ped haft tōb.

23 . sāeaa : tārakā (Skt. tārakā ‘the pupil of the eye’). West ‘shadow, iris of the eye’, Menasce: sahīk ‘translucide’.

24 . pə̄γ : vyajanaṁ (Skt. vyajana ‘a palm-leaf used for fanning, fan’). West: “Assuming that Pâz. pēγ, as well as pih in § 69 and peh in § 71 stands for Pahl. pīk (Pers. pī), ‘fat’.” Pers. pay ‘sinews, tendons, nerves’, cf. Bd 196 rahag ud pay.

25 . raγ : sirayā (Skt. sirā ‘nerve, vein, artery’). West: lag ‘prison’, Filippone: rag ‘layer’.

26 . pih : vasāyā (Skt. vasā ‘marrow, fat’).

27 . pih : vasāyāḥ.

28 . stūn : staṁbhasya. West: ‘column’. Menasce’s emendation : dīt[an].

29 . daβargāh : ubhayoḥ sthānayoḥ (‘of both places’). West : ‘orbit’, Menasce : gawrgās ‘orbite’. Pers. gabr ‘deep; deep valley, depressed land’ = zafr, gabrīhā/ zafrīhā adv., cf. Dk v, M 460.

30 . nahuftāṯ : prāvṛṇoti. West : ‘be concealed’.

31 . guṇb : golaka (Skt. golaka ‘ball, globe’). West: gumb ‘lid (of the eye)’, MacKenzie (BSOAS, 32/2, 398): “gunb is probably to be read *dnb= damb ‘shore, edge’.” Pers. dumb ‘tail; extremity’ (دمچه/ دنباله ‘the outer corner of the eye’), dumb ī cašm ≈ Arab. مؤخر العين.

(77) ēdōn cōn varg[32] ī gōš x^{v}ahl[33] pesāxt[34] ped hān cim (78) kū xāk gard, parrvarān[35] xrafstar, rāstīhā, pediš andar nē šavād, (79) ud x^{v}ad nam ud guzd[36] ī gōš ud zahr ī xrafstarān.

ēdōn pēdāg (80) ka ō abzārān ī gyān ud ruvān nigerīhed, (81) cōn hambōyišn ud ešnavišn ud vēnišn ud caxšišn[37] ud permāhišn[38] āgāhegar[39] ī gyānumandān, (82) ēdōn-z xrad, ī "harv-rad" vizārīhed, vizingar (83) ud dānišn ī ayābāg, (84) ud vīr ī x^{v}āstār abespārdār, (85) ud uš ī ganzvar nigāhdār, (86) ud bōy ī x^{v}ad vēnāgīh ī ruvān, (87) fravaš ī x^{v}ad cihr ī dāštār ī tan, (88) ud ox[40] ī abēzag, (89) ud abārīg mēnōgān ī tan dāštār kē-šān jud jud kār ud x^{v}ēškārīh ped hān ēvēnag cihrēnīd ēstend, (90) ped x^{v}ēškārīh cōn vāspuhragānēnīd cihrēnīd ēstend ped x^{v}ēš kār bavandag hend, (91) ped hān ī nē cihrēnīd ēstend nē šāyend.

(92) ud gugān[41] ī jud jud andar dēngird nibēg ī cōn agrī frazānag az dēnāgāhīh vizārd, ēdar dagrandīh rāy frāz hišt. (93) kē-š kāmag kū abdīh ī dēn mazdesn[42] ud pōryōdkēšīg gōbišn bē

32 . raγ : sirāyāḥ. West : rag 'tube'. Pers. varg 'leaf', varg ī gōš 'auricle', cf. برگ چشم '(the leaf of the eye), the eye-lid'.

33 . avāhar : vakrataraṁ. West : afāhal 'undilated'. Menasce's emendation.

34 . pasāxtan : viracanaṁ.

35 . faraβarą : utpataṁtaśca.

36 . guzg : malaśca. West : guzg 'secretion', Menasce : guzag. Pers. vazd/guzd (Av. vazdah- nt. 'fatness'), guzd ī gōš 'earwax, cerumen, ear discharge'.

37 . cāšašni : āsvādanaṁ.

38 . padarmāišni : sparśanaṁ.

39 . āgāhīgar : avabodhakaraṁ. Menasce : ākāskār.

40 . [illegible] : prajnyonmeṣaś ca. Jāmāspji's emendation.

41 . dugą : vistīrṇaṁ.

42 . mahə̄st : mahattāṁ.

dānistan, (94) ped hān abēhangōšīdag[43] nibēg pediš nigered, (95) abdīh ud rāstīh ī dēn abardar ē dāned.

6

(1) *ud anī viyābānīh ī avēšān nēstyazdgōbān,* (2) *kē-šān "dahrīg" x^{v}ānend,* (3) *kē az arg ī dēnīg ud ranz ī ped kirbag varzīdan vaxt ēstend,* (4) *ud drāyišn ī abēvimand vasīhā drāyend.*

(5) ēn ē nigered (6) kū: ēn gēhān abāg vas-ēvēnag vardišn ud ārāyišn ī-š hannāmān abzārān, ud pedyāragīh ī ēk ō did, ud gumēzišn ī-š ēk ped did, akanārag zamān bunēštag hangārend. (7) ud ēn-z kū nē kirbag mizd, ud nē vināh pādifrāh, ud nē vahišt ud dušox, ud nē rāyēnīdār ī kirbag ud bazag ast. (8) ēn-z kū: tis ēvāz gētīg ast, ud mēnōg nēst.

(9) cōn man azabar nibišt ud nibēsēnīd (10) kū kirdag bē az kirdār, ud vizīdag bē az vizīdār būdan ōn nē šāyed cōn nibištag bē az nibištār virāstan, mān bē <az> rāz[44] dēsāg. (11) hāmōyēn kirdag tis bē <az> kunāg būdan nē šāyed. (12) ud ēn gētīg az gumēzišn ī zōrān hambidīgān, (13) ōn vasān xīrān judcihrān, judgōnān, judbōyān, juddaxšagān, judsardagān ōn pesāxt ud vizīd ud kird ēsted cōn man azabar abar tan guft (14) kū, az vas tis ī cōn ast ud pay[45] ud pid[46] ud rag ud pōst ud xūn ud vād ud

[43] . aṇgōšīdaa : mahādṛṣṭāṁta. Jāmāspji's emendation. Cf. 10.52. We can also read : an-hangōšīdag.

[44] . rāž u : sūtradhāreṇa. Pers. rāz 'building ; architect'.

[45] . pae : medaś ca. (Skt. medas 'fat, marrow').

viš[47] ud drim[48] ud dast ud pāy ud sar ud eškamb ud abārīg hannāmān andarōnīg ud bērōnīg pesāxt ud kird ēsted. (15) andar davistan[49] ī vas ēvēnag tis ī judgōhr ī judzōr rāy hamēšag-nē-kirdag, (16) ayāb bē-kirdār būdan, nē šāyistan ēvar.

(17) ud ham ēvēnag, abārīg dām, urvar, draxt, ud āb ud ātaš ud zamīg ud vād, u-šān rāyēnišn ī nē x^{v}ad ō x^{v}ēš kām[50], ud nē rāyēnīdār hend, (18) bē-šān rāyēnīdār ud dēsāg[51] ud kunāg ast, (19) ud acār[52] kē-šān az rāyēnišn ō rāyēnišn, ud az sān ō sān[53], ud az hangām ō hangām vardēnāg ud kunāg. (20) ēdōn-z vardišn ī sālān, māhān, rōzān, zamānān, ī daxšagumandīg, vardišn ī spihr ud stārag ī pesāxtag, ud x^{v}aršēd ud māh ī vinārdag ī anhaspīnravišn[54] ī cihrīgvardišn . (21) ēn-z nimūdārīh kū harv cihrīg cannišnān az cihrēnīdār-ē kē-š ōy cihrīg cannišn cihrēnīd.

(22) az abārīg juttarīh ud judrāyēnišnīh ī andar gētīg, (23) az gētīg ped zamān zamān, hangām hangām, šāyed dānistan kū, ēn gētīg nē abērāyēnīdār. (24) ayāb-iš[55] rāyēnīdār nē yazd ī

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46 . paṯ : māṁsaṁ ca. (Skt. māṃsa ‘flesh’).

47 . vas : rasaś ca (Skt. rasa ‘liquid secretion; poison’). West : varas ‘hair’.

48 . daryam : niṣṭhā ca (niṣṭha ‘state’). West : dar-ī dum ‘fundament’.

49 . du stūn : dvayoḥ staṁbhayoḥ. West : ‘two series’, Zaehner : ‘two pillars’, Menasce : bastan.

50 . kār : kārye. West : ‘duty’, Menasce : ‘opération’. Neryōsang confused Pers. kām ‘will’ (Skt. kāma-) with Ind. kām ‘work, function’.

51 . dəšāā : dharttā.

52 . vāzār : haṭṭavyavahāraś ca. West : vāzār ‘usage’, Zaehner : ‘intercourse’, Menasce : vāc-ār nom d’agent ‘impulsion’.

53 . əž saxun ō saxun : vākyāt vākye. West: ‘from statement to statement’, Menasce: ‘d’un état à l’autre’.

54 . hvaspīn raβəšni : śobhanaśca pracari°. West : ‘a well-horsed progress’ (alluding to the supposed horses of the sun), Menasce : xuspīn (‘tranquille, régulier’) ravišn.

55 . ayåš : atha cet. Menasce: *ēwāzaš.

cimīkkunišn ī akanāragzōr ud asāmānvarz[56]? ōy-iz ī ka gēhān frāyumandīh ud zarmānīh ud marg ēdōn vēnābdāg kū ham mardōm ud gōspend, ud ham cihrān ud draxtān az juvānīh ō pērīh, ud az pērīh ō margīh madan cihrīg. (25) az pērīh abāz ō juvānīh, ud az margīh abāz ō zīndagīh madan kas-iz nē vēnīhed ud guftan nē tuvān.

(26) nē-z ēn menīdan ud guftan ud vurravistan sazed (27) kū: pādāšn ī kirbag, ud pādifrāh ī bazag nēst, (28) nē-z cihr ī hamāg dāmān ayābišnīh ī[57] dādār ud murnzēnīdār mārdārīh.

(29) ēn-z kū-šān grāmīgīh ī nivāzišn[58] dōsttar kū x^{v}ārīh ī dušnām, vattarīh. (30) cē-šān nēkīh ī pediš kunend spāsdār, (31) ud ka must vēnend garzīdār bend. (32) az-iz ēn baxt ud jahišn[59] bē az mēnōgān mēnōgīg nē šāyed. (33) ēdōn-z ped cihr ī harv šuyišnumandān, (34) ped harv avištāb ud vidang āyaftx^{v}āhišnīh, umēddārišnīh, ō-abardar-nigerišnīh, abar mardōmān, bē abar dadān ud murvān ud cahārbāyān pēdāgīg.

(35) ēn-z ī sofistāgīh gōbend (36) kū: tisān ēk-iz ōstīgānīh nēst. (37) cē hamāg taxl hend. (38) cē kē gōbed kū “angubēn taxl” ud “angubēn šīrēn”, harv do rāst. (39) cē taxl ō višabzūdān, šīrēn ō abārīgān. (40) ud “nān x^{v}aš” ud “nān ax^{v}aš” harv do rāst. (41) cē x^{v}aš ō gursagān, ax^{v}aš ō sagrān. (42) ud abārīg vas ped ēn šōn. (43) ā ēn gōbīhed ped pāsox ī avēšān drāyišn hangirdīg:

[56] . āsmąnvarz : ākāśakarttā. West : ‘illuminating the sky’, Menasce : ‘auteur du ciel’.

[57] . ayāβašnī : avalokatā (°kitā). Menasce: ayāpišnīk <ī>.

[58] . nyāžašni : nirddhana. West : ‘penury’, Menasce : ‘la gêne’.

[59] . dahišni : dānāt. West : ‘dispensation’, Menasce : ‘le bienfait’.

(44) cōn-šān guft dānāgān (45) kū: ēn-z soxan ī ašmā sofistāgān abar taxlenīh[60] ī harv tis ham taxl ast, u-š rāstīh nēst.

(46) abārīg vas andarg ī avēšān guft ast. (47) u-mān ēn kū nišānēnīd, pedisāy šnāxtārīh ī ašmā pērōzgarān (48) kū az dēn vas ayābed.

60. tahalūnī : kaṭukatve.

darag ī sidīgar

7

(1) *anī abar astīh ī hambidīg ī judgōhr*

cōn azabar nimūd (2) kū: az ōn frazānagīhā-pesāxtagīh, cihrēnīdagīh, vāspuhragānīh ī tisān, az-iz bahrān ī hamēnīdag, rōšn, acārīg, dast-abar-nihād, pēdāg kū-š kirdār, pesāxtār, hamēnīdār, cihrēnīdār frazānag. (3) u-š frazānagīhā-pesāxtagīh az jud jud, ped xvēš jud jud kār cihrēnīdan ud vāspuhragānēnīdan pēdāg. (4) u-š frazānagīhā-kunišnīh nimūdār kū-š kunišn cimīg ud vahānīg. (5) cē az frazānagān kunišn harv cimīg ud vahānīg sazed būdan. (6) pēš, cim ud vahān ī kunišn baved; pas, kunišn.

(7) az vasēvēnagīh ī-š kunišn pēdāg kū-š kunišn kāmagīg ud abāyistīg. (8) cē kunišn az kunāg do ēvēnag baved: (9) ayāb, kāmagīg, vasēvēnag ī-š kām; (10) ayāb, cihrīg, ēkēvēnag ī cōn cihrēnīd ēsted. (11) az vasēvēnag kunišn ī dādār pēdāg kū-š kunišn kāmagīg ud abāyistīg, (12) u-š kām az abāyist judvimand. (13) cē-š kām, ped nirōg, ī bunēštag abāyistag.

(14) cim ud vahān ī kunišn pēš az abāyist. (15) cē dā cim ī abāyist ī kunišn nē rased, abāyist nē baved. (16) cim ī kunišn az vahān baved kē-š hān kunišn abāyist aviš nixvāred[1]. (17) abāyistan, kāmistan ī tis ī vahānīg baved, (18) ud vahān ī abāyistan ī tis az x^{v}adīh nē hangēzīhed[2]. (19) cē az bē-rasišnīh

[1] . nax^{v}ārəṯ : virodhīyati. Pers. nix^{v}ār- ‘to hasten, hurry ; urge, incite’ (Parth. niδfār-).

[2] . hūsažihəṯ : surupayate. Menasce’s emendation.

vahān baved. (20) kē rāy nimūdār cimīkkunišnīh ī frazānag. (21) cim az vahān, ud vahān az avištāb, ud avištāb az bē, ud bē az vizūdār, ud vizūdār az hamēstār, abēsoxan.

(22) u-m ped ēn dar nimūd acārdānišnīhā ud hangōšīdagīhā kirdagīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī gēhān, u-š bahrān abzārān. (23) az kirdagīh ud cihrēnīdagīh ī gēhān pēdāgīhed kirdār ud cihrēnīdār, (24) ud cimīkkunišnīhā kirdagīh ī frazānag dādār. (25) az cimīkkunišnīhā kirdagīh pēdāgīhed astīh ī vizūdār ī az bē.

8

(1) *did abar astīh ī hambidīg judbunēšt*

ēn (2) kū: az nēkīh ud vattarīh ī andar gēhān pēdāg, (3) ud nāmcišt ī nēkkirdār ī x^{v}ēš vimand. (4) ēdōn cōn tārīkīh ud rōšnīh, (5) hudānāgīh ud dušdānāgīh, (6) bōy (hubōyīh) ud genn (dušgennīh), (7) zīndagīh ud margīh, (8) vēmārīh ud drustīh, (9) dād ud adād, (10) must ud āzādīh, (11) abārīg hambidīg kirdārān ī-šān ēvarīg astīh dīdārīh ped harv šahr, būm, ud harv zamānag. (12) ōn kū nē ayābīhed ēc šahr ud būm, ud nē-z būd, bād ēc zamānag (13) ka ēn nām, ud nāmcišt ī nēk ud vad, nē būd ud nē ast, (14) ud nē ped ēc gyāg ud zamānag šāyed guftan kū nēk ud vad az x^{v}ēš cōnīh ped x^{v}adīh vardišnīg baved.

(15) ēdōn-z abārīg hambidīgān kē-šān judīh nē <judgōhrīhā bē> judgārīhā ud judsardagīhā ud judcihrīhā. (16) cōn judīh ī hamgōhrān ēk andar did ōn cōn narīh māyagīh, (17) bōyān, mizagān, gōnān, ud x^{v}aršēd, māh, stāragān, kē-šān judīh nē judgōhrīhā, bē judgārīhā ud judcihragēnīdīhā ud judpesāxtīhā, ī

cōn ō kār kār abāyišnīg[3]. (18) nēk ud vad, ud rōšn ud tār, abārīg judgōhrān ēg-išān judāgīh nē judgārīhā, bē judgōhrīhā. (19) asāzišnīgcihrīh ud vizūdārīh ī-šān ēk ō did pēdāg. (20) ōn ka nēkīh ānōh, vattarīh nēstīh abēgumān; (21) ka rōšnīh mad, tārīkīh spōzīhed. (22) ēdōn-z abārīg hambidīgān kē-šān asāzišnīgīh ud vizūdārīh ō āgenīn az judgōhrīh vahān. (23) cōn andar gētīg hambidīggōhrīh ud vizūdārīh ī tisān ēk ō did pēdāg.

(24) gētīg bar ī mēnōg; u-š mēnōg bun. (25) cē bar ayābīhed ped bun, (26) ham ēvēnag būd gugāyīh-dādār, andar šnāsagān rōšn. (27) gētīg bar, mēnōg būdan, pēdāgīh ēn (28) ka: harv vēnišnīg, gīrišnīg tis az abēdāgīh ō pēdāgīh madan, gōvizār pēdāg. (29) cōn mardōm ud abārīg dām ī vēnišnīg ud gīrišnīg az mēnōg ī avēnišnīg ud agīrišnīg būdan, āšnāg; (30) ōn cōn kālbod, <andar> āyēnag[4], drahnāy, pahnāy, ud zahā[5] ī x^{v}ad; (31) ud tan ī mardōm ud abārīg dām pēdāgīh andar tōm ī az pidarān abēdāg avēnišnīg būd. (32) x^{v}ad-iz tōm andar hān ī pidarān pušt[6] ō pēdāgīh ud vēnišn ud gīrišn mad. (33) nūn acārīg šāyed dānistan kū: ēn gētīg ī vēnišnīg ud gīrišnīg az mēnōg ī avēnišnīg ud agīrišnīg dād būd ēsted. (34) ham ēvēnag az vēnišn ud gīrišn ō avēnišnīgīh agīrišnīgīh ī x^{v}ad mēnōg būdan abēgumān.

(35) ka-mān dīd ped gētīg hambidīggōhrīh ud (hambidīg-)sāxtārīh[7] ud vizūdārīh ī ēk ō did, pez mēnōg xīr (36) kē bun ast ī gētīg, (37) u-š gētīg xīrān bar, ham ēvēnag būdan nē gumānīg. (38) ēn hān ī az hambidīggōhrīh pēdāg.

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[3] . ayāβašnī : abhīspā. Jamaspasana's emendation.

[4] . āinaa : darpaṇe (Skt. darpaṇa- 'mirror'). Menasce: 'l'espèce'.

[5] . zahā: piṁḍena (Skt. piṇḍa- 'ball, embryo'). West: 'emanation', Menasce: zāyak 'progéniteur'.

[6] . pōst : carmme. Jamaspasana's emendation.

[7] . sāxtārī : saṁsparddhanatvaṁ.

(39) enyā-m azabar nimūd cim ud vahān ī frazānagīhā-kunišnīh ī dādār (40) kē dād dām ī nimūdār ast astīh ī hamēstār, (41) cē āšnāg kū: kunišn az kunišngar do ēvēnag, kāmagīg ayāb cihrīg. (42) hān ī kāmagīg se ēvēnag: (43) do, az dānāgān ud frazānagān, (44) ayāb ped x^{v}āstan, ō xvēš kirdan ī sūd ud nēkīh, (45) ayāb spuxtan, ayāb dāštan ī zyān ud anāgīh ī az bē; (46) ud ēk, az dušāgāhān ud adānān, (47) halagīhā ud abēcimīhā. (48) az dānāgān ud frazānagān kunišn abēcim avahān nē sazed būdan. (49) cōn dādār ī frazānag ī vispāgāh ī bavandag-tuvānīg, ped x^{v}adīh bavandag ud spurrīg, hān ī-š nē niyāz ō sūd-ē ud abzōn<-ē> ī az bē x^{v}āstan[8]. (50) pas šāyed dānistan kū cim ud vahān[9] ī-š kunišnān hān ēk ēvēnag: zyān ī-š az hamēstār ud vizūdār ī az bē, šāyed būdan, spuxtan, abāz dāštan, ī x^{v}ad cim ud vahān ī dāmdahišnīh.

(52) ēn-z kū: ōy dādār ī frazānag vehkām; (53) u-š kām hamāg vehīh; (54) u-š dād dām pedisāy x^{v}ēš kām, (55) ud bavandag-ravākkāmīh[10] ī ōy ī vehkām frazānag ped ānāftan ud anast kirdan ī vattarīh. (56) cē dā vattarīh nē ānābīhed, ōy ī vehkām nē spurrīkkām.

(57) ēn kū: ōy dādār ī frazānag vehīh az dādārīh ud parvardārīh ud pānāgīh, rāh ī anāgīh bē kirdan, ud pahrēz ī az bazag kirdan, cārag framūdan hamuxtan, pēdāg. (58) az-iz cahārān[11] zōrān ī tan ī ped dard ud vēmārīh ī az bērōn, (59) ud ped vahān ī tan (60) hamēstār ī ō tan rased bē spuxtan, abāz dāštan, dāštārīh ud pezāmēnīdārīh ud vaxšēnīdārīh ī gyānvarān ud rōymānān ped zōr ī dārāg parvarāg ī cihr hamkār, ī dēnīg

88 . x^{v}āhast : iyeṣa.

9 . vahąną : kāraṇānāṁca.

10 . bundaaraβāī kāmī : saṁpūrṇapravṛttikāmi.

11 . ciharą u : rūpāvayavebhyaḥ. West : ‘the qualities and’, Menasce : ‘les natures et’.

fravahr x^{v}ānīhed; (61) ud ped hān cahār zōr ī frabihišngar[12], ī ast zōr ī āhanzāg, gīrāg, gugārāg, ud spōzāg, (62) kē az hāmōyēn dādār frazānagīh, hamkārīhā, ped peymānīg zōr, ped abāzdāštārīh ī dard ud vēmārīh ī sardag sardag ī az hamēstāṛ ī halakkunišn ī anākkām, (63) ud anī hamzōr ud hamayyār hend, pēdāg vehkāmīh ī dādār.

(64) ēn-z kū: ēn dard ud margīh, ī tan višuftār, nē <az> dādār ī vehkām ī tan dāštār ud parvardār. (65) pēdāgīh az-iz ēn ka dādār ī frazānag nē abaxšdār ud pašīmānīh-kunišn, (66) ud nē višuftār ud agārgar[13] ī x^{v}ēš āfurišnān; (67) cē frazānag ud vispāgāh. (68) ēn ō abaxšīh, pašīmānīh ī az x^{v}ēš kunišn abar ōy kamdānišn, abavandagxrad ud afrazāmešnās sazed guftan. (69) cōn az dānāgān ud frazānagān kunišn abēcim avahān nē baved. (70) hamgōnag az adānān ud dušāgāhān ud afrazāmešnāsān kunišn hamāg halag, abēcim ud avahān. (71) ud ōy ī frazānag ped abāzdāštārīh ī hān halakkunišn ud afrazāmešnās az x^{v}ēštan dāmān frazānagīhā nizūmānagīhā[14] kunišnīg ud hangixtār[15]. (72) ōy ī halakkunišn parzīnumand[16] pēcīdag andar dām-vandag kird[17]. (73) cē ēn āšnāg kū: ōy ī jumbāg zīndag gōhr andar akanārag tuhīgīh ōn nē šāyed abāz dāštan, abesinnīdan[18], az vizūdārīh abēbīm būdan, (74) bē ka pēcīdag ud parzīdag[19] ud

[12] .faržidašnigar (Skt. om.). West : parjasashnigar ‘accumulative’, Menasce : parcītišnkar ‘assimilateur’.

[13] . āgārgar : vilāyayitā.

[14] . vicumānahihā : vivekatayā.

[15] . andāxtār : darśayitā. West : ‘contriver’, Menasce : ‘qui projète’.

[16] . faržīnmaṇd : guṁphitaṁ.

[17] . dąm niβə̄ kard : sṛṣṭau ālekhī cakāra. Menasce : dām ōfted.

[18] . aβə̄fsūidan: saṁkocayituṁ. West: apasažainīdan ‘to disorganize’, Menasce: awasahinīdan/apasīhēnītan ‘détruire’.

[19] . farahīdaa (JJ faržīdaa) : guṁphito. West: parkhīdaa ‘fenced in’, Menasce: faržidaa/ parcītak ‘traqué’.

gravīg[20] nē baved. (75) andar pēcīdagīh ud gravīgīh dardmār[21] ud grān pādifrāh cārag. (76) bē dā bavandagmārdārīh[22] ī-š dard ud bavandagāgāhīh ī az x^vēš dušāgāhgārīh nē baved, ped hān ī-š peyvasted zūrmihōxtīhā mened; (77) ud bavandagtuvānīh ī visptuvān dādār dardmārdārīh; (78) az bavandagmārdārīh ī dard andar visptuvānīh ī frazānag dādār agārīhā abāz abganed dā ō hān ī akanārag tuhīgīh. (79) hān ī veh dām aziš abīm, anōšag, abēš baved; (80) bavandag nizūmānīhā frazānagīh ud cāragvēnīh ī ōy harvispāgāh dādār ī vehīgān.

(81) ud az cašmdārišnīh ī xīrān pēdāg judāgīh ī tisān. (82) ud judāgīh do ēvēnag, cōn guft azabar: (83) ēk judgārīh, ud didīgar judgōhrīh. (84) judgārīh az hamayyārīh ud hamzōrīh; (85) ud judgōhrīh az asāxtārīh ud hamēstārīh, (86) ud ped ēv-gyāg nē ēstišn ī xīrān pēdāg. (87) agar tis ēk hād, ēk nēst-nām hād. (88) šnāxtārīh ī tisān ēk az did nāmdārišnīh rāy. (89) vad ped judāgīh ī az nēk astīh bunēštagīhā ōn ī ēk-iz nē vahānag ast ī ōy ī did. (90) cē harv ēk ped x^vēš x^vadīh astagumand[23]. (91) az hamēšagvizūdārīh pedyāragīh ī-šān ēk ō did pēdāg.

(92) agar kas gōbād kū: “cōn hambidīgān hambidīg vas (93) –cōn nēk vad, ud tār rōšn, ud bōy genn, ud zīndagīh margīh, ud vēmārīh drustīh, ud rāmišn bēš, (94) abārīg vas – ōn bunēštag vas-marag, vas-sardag sazend būdan.” (95) ēg-iš[24] pāsox dahend (96) kū: ka-z[25] hambidīgān vasnām ud vassardag hend, ēg-iz

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[20] . grōhī : grāhī.

[21] . dardmāl : duḥkhasya vimārjjanaṁ. West: ‘spreading anguish’, Menasce: dartmāl ‘usure douloureuse, plaie’.

[22] . buṇdaa māladārī : saṁpūrṇavimārjjatā. West: ‘a complete wiping away’, Menasce: ‘usure complète’.

[23] . hastaahəṇd : sthitāni saṁti. West: hastmand ‘existent’.

[24] . anyē : apareca.

[25] . kaca ō. ka-z ōy ī?

hamāg andar parvastag ī do nām. (97) u-šān ēn do nām tōmag ī parvannāg, ī ast nēk ud vad. (98) avēšān judnāmān ud judsardagān daxšag[26] hend ī ēn do tōmag. (99) nē ēc tis ī nē parvast ī ēn do nām. (100) nē būd ud nē-z baved tis ī nē nēk ayāb vad ayāb gumixtag az harv do. (101) kē rāy pēdāg gōvizār kū bunēšt do, nē vēš. (102) ēn-z kū, nēk az vad ud vad az nēk būdan nē šāyed.

(103) az-iz ēn šāyed dānistan (104) kū: hān tis ī ped nēkīh bavandag spurrīg, vadīh aziš būdan nē šāyed. (105) agar šāyed, pas nē bavandag. (106) cē ēk tis ka bavandag guft, anī tis gyāg nē baved. (107) ud ka gyāg ī anī tis nē baved, anī tis aziš nē uzīhed[27]. (108) agar yazd ped vehīh ud dānāgīh spurrīg, ā-š adānīh ud vattarīh aziš nē būdan, āšnāg. (109) agar-š aziš būdan šāyed, pas nē bavandag. (110) agar nē bavandag, ped yazdīh ī spurrīg vehīh stāyīdan nē šāyed. (111) agar yazd veh ud vad aziš uzīhed, ped vehīh abavandag. (112) agar ped vehīh abavandag, ped hudānāgīh abavandag. (113) agar ped hudānāgīh abavandag, ah-iz[28] ped xrad, uš, vīr, abārīg-iz abzār abavandag. (114) agar ped xrad, uš, vīr, dānišn abavandag, ped drustīh abavandag. (115) agar ped drustīh abavandag, vēmār sazed būdan. (116) agar vēmār sazed būdan, ped zīndagīh abavandag.

(117) agar kas gōbād kū: "hamē vēnom kū, az ēk gōhr, ī cōn mardōm ham nēkīh ud ham vattarīh ped kunišn az-išān hamē uzīhed", (118) ā ē rāy cē mardōm ped ēk-iz nē bavandag. (119) ud nē-bavandagīh ī ped nēkīh rāy vadīh azišān uzīhed. (120) ud nē-bavandagīh-iz ī ped drustīh-iz rāy vēmārīhend. (121) im cim

26 . dašaa : cihnāni. West: 'token', Zaehner: dēšaa 'branch', Menasce: 'émanation', Boyce: 'development'.

27 . huzīrihəṯ : prabhavati. West: 'are improved', Menasce: 'provient'.

28 . aβąnica.

rāy mīrend. (122) cē vahān ī margīh kuxšišn ī do hambidīg jadišnān, andar ēk gōhr. (123) ānōh kū do hambidīg jadišnān andar ēk gōhr bavend, vēmārīh ud margīh būdan, āšnāg.

(124) agar kas gōbād kū: “nēk[29] ud vad kunišn hend ī dā kunīhed nēst.” (125) ēgiš pāsox dayend (126) kū: kunišn bē az kunāg būdan ōn nē šāyed būdan cōn ēc jadišn bē az gōhr, ud ped gōhr. (127) enyā-š ped x^{v}ēš xvadīh ēstišn ud vinārišn nē būdan, āšnāg. (128) cē ka mard xēšm kuned, vahman az ānōh dūr; (129) ud ka vahman gāh dāred, xēšm ānōh nē. (130) ud ka mard drōv gōbed, rāstīh az ānōh dūr [ud hān mard drōv x^{v}ānīhed.][30] (131) ud ka rāst gōbed, drōzanīh ānōh gāh nē dāred, ud hān mard rāst x^{v}ānīhed. (132) ēdōn-z ka vēmārīh mad, drustīh ānōh nē; (133) ud ka drustīh mad, vēmārīh šud. (134) cōn gōhr ī nē jumbāg būdan šāyed; (135) bē jumbišn bē ped gōhr būdan nē šāyed.

(136) abar ēn dar-z ō hangirdīg handāxt. (137) dārmagīhā ud vizīdārīhā pediš nigerīdan[31] framāyed.

[29] . nə̄kī : śubhāni.
[30] . JE.
[31] . nigarə̄t̰: paśyeta.

cahārum darag

9

(1) anī abar astīh ī hambidīg, hamgugāyīhā, az dēnkird nibēg, āgāhīh ašmā rāy ēdar nišānēnīd xūb. (2) cē ēn-z ī abar nibišt, ud hān ī nibēsīhed, hamāg az tōm rust ī hufravard ādarpādyāvandān[1] kišt. (3) ud bun spās ī ōy agrī frazānag ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān x^vēš !

(4) cahārum[2] darag ī dēnkird

abar astīh ī dām hamēstār, ud pēšīh ī hamēstār az dām, az nigēz ī veh dēn

(5) hād. astīh ī dām hamēstār az andardum ī mardōm tan dā bēdum ī aziš[3] vēnišn, mārišn[4], dānišn, ayābišnīg, (6) ud azabar hān ī andar humānāgīh vimand ī ēvarīg. (7) andardum ī mardōm, ī andardum ī gyān baved, (8) vēnīhed ped bavandagnigerišnīh andar ham vimand. (9) ē cōn dušāgāhīh ō hudānāgīh, (10) ud frēftārīh ō huxēmīh, (11) ud drōzanīh ō rāstīh, (12) abārīg āhōgān ī <ō> hunarān ī hudānāgīh, huxēmīh, rāstīh tōhmag hamēstār, (13) ud ruvān durvandīh vahān.

(14) did ēn : andar tan parvann, abēristagān, ī ristagān ī tan-vinārišn hamēstār, ud tan višōbišn vahān. (15) did ēn : andar

[1] . ādarpādyāβaṇdą : ādarapādiāvaṁdena.

[2] . ardium : baliṣṭo me. ardium is a misreading of سلر /cahārum/. « We have corrected the mistake by चतुर्थः in the text. » Bharucha

[3] . aṇdā nə̄ θūm i vaš : yāvat bījaṁ asya. Jamaspasana’s emendation.

[4] . mālašnī : saṁspṛśyā. West: ‘susceptible’, Menasce: mālišnīk.

zahagān, sardīh ī garmīh, huškīh ī x^{v}ēdīh, abārīg vināhišngārān ī bavišngārān hamēstār. (16) andar āvām, tārīkīh ī rōšnīh, ud genn ī bōy, duščihrīh ī huzihrīh, dušmizagīh ī humizagīh, ud zahr ī anōš, xrafstar gurg ī hudāg gōspend, vattar mar ī veh mardōm hamēstār. (17) azabar āvām, gayōgān ī bay-baxšēnīdārān kār hamēstār. (18) azabar hamāg ēn gund vēnišn-mārišnīg, dānišn-ayābišnīg, hān ī andar humānāgīh vimand, amaragān āgāhīh ēvarīg : dēvān ī yazdān hamēstār.

(19) hamēstār astīh pēš az dāmdahišnīh, u-š rasišn ī ō dām (20) pas az dāmdahišnīh. hav-iz[5] dādār, dānišnīg, ped cim ī abāyišnīg[6]-dahišnīh, cārakkunišnīhā dād dahišn ī ō kār. (21) ēn ēk vāzag dāred panz sāmān : (22) ēk, dānišnīg dād ; (23) ud ēk, ped cim dād ; (24) ēk, cim ī dahišn abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būd ; (25) ud ēk, cārīg dād ī dahišn ; (26) ud ēk, ō kār dād ī dādār dām. (27) astīh ī ē panz sāmān ped x^{v}ad dahišnān āfurišnān pēdāg. (28) dānišnīg dēsag[7], dānāgīhā vīrāstagī dāmān abargugāy[8]. (29) ped cim dād ī az ham dānāgīh pēdāgīh. (30) ud cim abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būd, (31) abāg ōn nizūmānagīhā vīrāstagīh ī dahišn az abāyišnīgīh ī dahišn būdan sazed. (32) ud abāyišnīgīh[9] cimīgīh ī x^{v}ad dahišn ped cihr dāred gugāyīh[10]. (33) cārīg dād dānišnīgdahišnīh nimūdār. (34) cē dānišn kāmagīg, ud kāmagīg cihrīg baved. (35) ō kār dād, ped x^{v}ēškārīh ī dahišn, jud jud-iz cihrīg-iz kāmagīg pēdāg.

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[5] . ōca: iyaṁca.

[6] . ayāβašnī: abhīpsāyāḥ. “Doubtful; compare § 24.” Jamaspasana

[7] . dahī: dānaṁ. West: ‘presenting’, Menasce: dahīk ‘créature’.

[8] . aβar dugāe : upari vipulatve. Jamaspasana: Better aβar guβāī. Cf. Dk viii, M 711 abar-gugāyīh.

[9] . ayāβašnī : abhīpsāyāḥ.

[10] . guβāī : sākṣyaṁ. Paz. guβāī could render gugāyīh and or gōbāgīh. As we see, Neryōsang has correctly translated it.

(36) astīh ī hamēstār pēš az dāmdahišnīh pēdāgīh vas, (37) u-š ēk abāyišnīgīh ī dāmdahišnīh. (38) cōn vimand ī abāyišn nē hangēzīhed[11] ō tis bē az niyāz, (39) ā az abāyišn niyāz, az niyāz avištāb, az avištāb hamēstār astīh ī pēš az abāyišnīg kār ī ast dahišn. (40) rasišn ī ebgad ō dām pas az dāmdahišnīh pēdāgīh abzār sāxtan ī dādār ō pedīrag ī hamēstār pēš az hamēstār rasišn, (41) ī vispāgāhīhā, pēšdānišnīh ī dādār pessazag. (42) ud ham abzār ī dām nimūdār ast ī virāst ī ō hamēstār pedīrag kuxšāgīh ped cihr vīrāyišn. (43) kār-ē ī dāmān cihr hāvand bēš-ānābīh ; (44) u-šān vinārišn razm –ī pedīrag hamēstār dušmen – sāzišnīh mānāg. (45) u-šān kār cihrīg ud kāmagīg, hamāg avištābspōzišnīh ast.

[11] . hūsažihəṯ: surūpāyate. West: ‘is well suited’, (Menasce: husacītan ‘convenir, s’adapter’).

panzum darag

10

(1) *anī dar abar uskār ī ēkīhuskārān kē-š vinārišn-z ī doīh aziš pēdāgīhed*

(2) ē dānīhed kū: kē dādār-ē kāmed šnāxtan, bē ka ranz ō x^{v}ēš gyān dahed, (3) dārmagīhā ē handēšed, (4) nax^{v}ist tan ud ruvān ī x^{v}ēš bē šnāsed (5) kū : kē, az cē, ud ped cē kār dād ? (6) u-š hamēmāl ud pedyārag kē ? (7) u-š dōst ud ayyār kē ? (8) u-š ō bazag kirdan kē nix^{v}āred ? (9) ud az kadām gōhr ? (10) u-š rastan cōn šāyed ? (11) enyā-š nē tuvān dādār ped cōnīh šnāxtan, u-š ō x^{v}ēš madan.

(12) cē ka « dādār » nām burd, ēgiš ēn se nām abāg burd : (13) dahišn ud dēn ud ruvān.

(14) cē dādār nām az dahišn būdan āšnāg. (15) ēn kū dādār ī dahišn dahišnān ō x^{v}ēškārīh dād, (16) bē az xvēškārīh nē hiled. (17) ud x^{v}ēškārīh ī dāmān, kām ī dādār šnāxtan ud kirdan, (18) az agām pahrixtan ; (19) az kām ī dādār varzīdan u-š az agām pahrixtan ruvān bōxtan.

(20) kām ī dādār bē az dēn ī dādār nē šnāsīhed. (21) dēn ped dādār brihēnīd, abēgumān. (22) nūn sazed dānistan kū yazd brihēnīd dēn ō šnāxtārīh ī-š kām. (23) ud az šnāxtan ī-š kām ō bōxtārīh ī ruvān, pēdāgīhed x^{v}ābarīh ud abaxšāyišngarīh ī yazd. (24) ud az bōxtārīh ī dēn ō ruvān pēdāgīhed vazurgīh ud arzumandīh ī dēn.

(25) az bōxtan abāyistan ī ruvān pēdāgīhed vīftagīh ud viyābānīgīh ī ruvān. (26) az vīftagīh ud viyābānīgīh ī ruvān pēdāgīhed vīftār ud viyābānēnīdār[1] ī menišnān, gōbišnān, ud kunišnān ī mardōm. (27) ō ham pēdāgīhed tabāhēnīdār ī ruvānān.

(28) u-mān nūn sazed uzvārdan ud dānistan kū : hān vīftār ī ruvānān tabāhēnīdār az kadām gōhr ? (29) cē agar az ham gōhr ī dahišn ud āfurišn ī yazd gōbīhed, ēg cōn yazd dēn ō bōxtārīh ī ruvān brihēnīd, (30) ā-š nē sazed vīftār ud viyābānēnīdār ī ruvānān ped x^{v}ēš dānišn ud kām āfrīdan. (31) cē agar ōy x^{v}ad ast dādār, ud x^{v}ad ast vīftār ud tabāhēnīdār ī ruvānān, jud az kām ī ōy tis nē baved, (32) ēg ka-mān az yazd bōxtārīh abāyed, pušt[2] ud panāh ō kū kunem ?

(33) nūn harv ušiyār mardōm ēn and abāyed šnāxtan ud dānistan (34) kū-mān az kē virīxtan ud pahrixtan abāyed ? (35) u-mān panāh ō kē ud umēd ō kē dārišn ? (36) cārag ī ēn xīr anī tis nēst bē yazd ped cōnīh šnāxtan. (37) cē cōn man azabar nibišt kū nē ēvāz astīh dānistan, bē cōnīh u-š kām abāyed šnāxtan.

(38) u-m nigerīd andar gēhān harvisp kēšdārān kēš ud vurravišn ī dārend (bun ī do)[3]. (39) ēk, hān kē gōbed kū : hamāg nēkīh ud anāgīh ī ped gēhān az yazd. (40) ud ēk, hān kē gōbed kū : hamāg nēkīh ī <ped> gēhān, umēd-iz ī ped ruvān bōxtan az yazd, (41) ud hamāg anāgīh ī tan, bīm-iz ī ruvān, az ahrmen

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[1] . u vyāβąnīdār : vimohakaśca.

[2] . naβaštan: samālikhituṁ. West: 'to write', Menasce: nipištan. Pers. pušt-panāhīh 'support' (HV 10), پشت و پناه (Šāhnāma, M 12d, 2460).

[3] . bun i du (JE) : mūle ime dve eva.

vahān, (42) hamāg az baxšišn ī ēn do bun ō kardag kardag, brīnag brīnag[4] franaft hend.

(43) nūn an harv gāh ped yazd šnāxtan, cōn azabar nibišt, taftīgmenišn ped vizustārīh ī-š dēn ud kām pursīdār būd hom, (44) hamcōn vizustārīh rāy ō bē-kišvar ud hindūgān būm ud vasān judsardagān franaft hom. (45) cē man dēn nē hān ī ped abarmānd dōšīd, (46) bē hān x^{v}āst ī ped xrad gugāyīh ōstīgāndar ud pedīrišnīgdar. (47) ō-z abāgīh ī vasān judsardagān šud hom, (48) dā ē-bār (49) ka an az hān ī yazdān x^{v}ābarīh, ud dēn ī veh ōz ud x^{v}arrah ud zōr, az vas zufāy ī tamag ud gumānīh ī dušvizār rast hom. (50) az ham zōr ī dēndānāgīh, (51) ud nibēg ud uskār ī dānāgān, (52) ud abēhangōšīdag[5] nibēgān ī frazānag ādarpādyāvandān[6], (53) ud az hān nibēg-ē ī-š kird hufravard rōšn ī ādarfarrōbayān (54) ī-š « rōšn-nibēg » nām nihād, (55) hān-z ī ōy agrī frazānag ahlav ādarfarrōbay ī farroxzādān (56) ī hudēnān pēšobāy (57) az dēn vizārd ud[7] dēnkird nibēg nām nihād, (58) bōxt hom az vas gumānīh ud ērang ud frēb ud dušīh ī kēšān[8], (59) ud nāmcišt az hān ī frēftārān mehdar, mazandar[9], dušhamōzdar, vardmasturg[10] mānī, (60) kē-š kēš jādūgīh ud dēn frēftārīh ud hamōz dušīh ud brahm nihānravišnīh.

[4] . brīnana brīnana : bhedaṁ bhedaṁ. Menasce: brīnēnak. Cf. Dk viii, M 677 u-š bazišn bahr ud bahr brīnag.

[5] . aβaṯaṇgōšīdaa : mahādṛṣṭāṁtebhyaḥ.

[6] . ādarpādyāβaṇdą: ādarapādiāvaṁdasya.

[7] . əž dīn vazārdan: dīnervivicya.

[8] . dōšī i kəšą : duṣṭatvebhyo darśanānāṁ. Menasce: ‘l’attrait des doctrines’.

[9] . mazūtar: mukhyatarasya.

[10] . raṯmastarag (raemastarag AK, PB_3, MH_{19}) : guroḥ mastargga. West: ‘empty-skulled’, Menasce: ‘cerveau-fêlé’.

(61) āstavānīhist hom, dānišnīhā, ped hān ī xrad zōr ud dēn dānāgīh ōz. (62) nē saxtvurravišnīhā, bē ped abēzag juddēv dēn ī ohrmazd dādestān, (63) kē-š dādār ohrmazd ō ahlav zardušt cāšt.

(64) zardušt ped rāstfrēstagīh, ēvtāg ō dar ī burzāvand kay vištāsp mad. (65) u-š ped ōzumand uzvān, xradgugāyīhā[11], dastabarnihādīhā[12], ud vimandsoxanīhā, ud vas gumānvizārīhā, ud amehrspendān vēnābdāg gugāyīhdādārīhā, dēn ō kay vištāsp ud frazānagān cāšt abāg vas abdīh (66) ud mehīh, ī andar tuvān ī gētīgān nē vaxt ī-šān ōy yaštfravahr[13] dīd. (67) ud kay spendōyād[14] ud zerīr[15] ud abārīg kišvarīgān, vas ardīgjumbišnīh ud xūnrēzišnīh zādag dēn ō grīv[16] pedīrift, (68) dā-z ō hrōm ud hindūgān bē-kišvar ped dēn ravāgēnīdārīh franaft hend.

(69) az hān frāz ped peyvann ō bayān[17] x^{v}adāyān ī kaytōhmagān ī burzāvandān mad. (70) dā-z pesāxt ī ped vidāxt rōy ī abar-var-rēzišnīh ī ōy hufravard ādarbād ī mahrspendān andar x^{v}adāyīh ī ōy bay šābuhr, ī šāhān šāh, ī ohrmazdān[18], ped pehikār ī abāg vas sardag judsardagān ahlemōgān, (71) az avēšān mazandum ahlemōgān ī-šān peccībāstagān[19] $x^{v}$and[20]

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[11] . xardguβāihā : buddhisākṣitayā. West: 'through testimony of wisdom', Menasce: 'avec une eloquence pleine de sagesse'. See 10.46.

[12] . dastāβarnahādihā : hastoparivinyastatayā. West: 'through manual gestures', Menasce: 'avec un jugement posé'. See 5.16.

[13] . saxt fravaš: gāḍhatarāṁ vṛddhiṁ. West 'the vehement guardian spirit', Menasce: yasn fravaš.

[14] . spudāxt : spudākhto.

[15] . zargar : jaragaraśca.

[16] . ōca ōi: etasmāt. West's emendation.

[17] . bayąną : mahatsu.

[18] . hōrmezd. Jamaspasana's emendation.

[19] . paca āβāyastagą : abhīpsubhiḥ. West: 'even by the name of their desires', Menasce: 'fataliste' (litt. les "nécessitants"). Cf. Dk vi, M 481 peccībāstīh ayāb ahlemōgīh.

[20] . x^{v}ānīṯ : ākāritāḥ.

hend bōxt. (72) ud hrōmāyīgān kē ped āvām āvām « anast » nām būd hend vas frašn ī dušvizār az ēn dēn pursīd, (73) nē būd ēc frašn gumānīg ī az dēn vizārīhist, (74) ud frazānagān ī ērānšahr hamē andar avēšān pērōzīhburdār būd hend. (75) nē cōn abārīg kēšān kē-šān dēn nihānravišnīhā ud frēftārīhā ud frēftagān-viyābānēnīdārīhā axᵛēškārīhā andar ristag ud ram ī kamdānišnān ud anešnāsān ud dēvcihrān kē-šān az dānāgīh ud xrad ud šnāsagīh tis-iz āgāhīh nē būd. (76) ēg cand-išān ram ī vas nihānīhā frēft ud viyābānēnīd tan ō āškāragīh nē dād. (77) pas az vasān grōh ī kamdānišn ī anāgāhdādestān ī-šān viyābānēnīd āškārāgīhist hend abāg vas hambasāngōbišnīh ud drōzanīh ud škastagīh ī-šān kēš.

(78) cōn az vas hambasānīh ud škastagīh dādestānāgāhīh ī nōghamōzagān rāy ēdar nišānēnom. (79) az hān cim ī ka nibēg ī frazānag pēšēnagān (mardān[21]) frāyist bārīg ud dārmag-dōš dānāgdum[22] soxanīhist ō hangirdīg[23] handāxt. (80) hucašmīhā framāyed nigerīdan[24].

[21] . mardą (JE).

[22] . bārīk u dārmaa dušdānātum : bārīkaiḥ dāramīyaiḥ duṣṭajñānatve. See DD 0.24 bārīg-vēnišnān ud dārmag-dānišnān.

[23] . hūdānāī: uttamajñānatve. West: ‘good knowledge’, Menasce: ‘la vraie doctrine’. See 15.90 ō hangirdīg handāxt.

[24] . farmāyast nigarə̄t̰ : samādiṣṭaṁ paśyeta.

šašum darag

11

(1) *az ēdar nibištom hambasānīh ī-šān drāyišn. ud rāstnigerišnīh* (2) *ē handāzed ped hān ī dānāg cašm.*

(3) nax^{v}ist ōy ī ēk-bunēšt-uskār (4) kē gōbend kū : ēk ast yazd ī kirbakkar ud dānāg ud tuvānīg ud x^{v}ābar ud abaxšāyišngar, (5) kū kirbag bazag, ud rāstīh drōzanīh, ud zīndagīh margīh, ud vehīh vattarīh [hamāg] az ōy.

(6) nūn az-išān pursed (7) kū: yazd hamēšag x^{v}ābar abaxšāyend, ud kirbakkar dādestānīg, ud harvisp ast ud būd ud baved dāned, ped harv cē-š kām kāmravāg ? ē-z kū dādestānīg meyānjīg, ayāb ka ēdōn, <ka> ēdōn nē ?

(8) cē agar x^{v}ābar, kirbakkar, ud abaxšāyend, ēgiš ahrmen ud dēv ud dušox ēn hamāg vad ud drōšag[1] ped x^{v}ēš x^{v}ābarīh ud kirbakkarīh ud abaxšāyendīh ō x^{v}ēš dāmān cim abgand ? (9) agar-š nē dānist, ā-š dānāgīh ud harvispāgāhīh kū ? (10) agar-š nē kāmist anāgīh ud vad az dāmān abāz dāštan, ud harv kas ēkānag nēkīh dādan, ā-š dādestānīgīh ud meyānjīgīh kū ? (11) agar-š nē šāyist kū nē dād hē, ā-š visptuvānīh az cē ? (12) ī harv cōn nigerān ud uskārān[2], (13) hamē ka harv nēkīh ud anāgīh az

[1] . vīrōšaa : āmnāya. West : for [illegible] /vīrōiā/ 'believing'. Cf J 16.34 ēn and vad ud drōšag ī ped hazārag sar ī zarduštān.

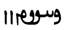
[2] . [illegible] . [illegible]. "So K 28, S ; but in AK, MH 19, JJ, JE both verbs end with [illegible], which may, perhaps, stand for Pl. [illegible] of 3[rd] person optative." Jamasp-Asana.

yazd būd gōbend, bē ka ēn cahār hunar ī ped yazdīh andar abāyed, ī ast harvispāgāhīh ud visptuvānīh ud vehīh ud abaxšāyendīh, aziš judāgēnend, (14) enyā cār nēst. (15) ka-z-iš ēk az ēn cahār hunar aziš jud kunend, ped yazdīh nē bavandag. (16) cē agar yazd hān baved ī vīspāgāh ud vīsptuvān ud veh ud abaxšāyišngar, ēg hān ī nē vīspāgāh ud nē vispuvān ud nē veh ud nē abaxšāyišngar, nē yazd.

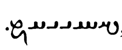
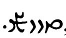
(17) did ēn kū : ka ped harv kas ud tis kāmravāg x^{v}adāy, ā-š šahr ud šahriyārīh ī x^{v}ēš az harv dušmen ud pedyārag ī az x^{v}ēš kunišn, cim ōn abēzār[3] nē dāšt kū-š ēc kas andar šahriyārīh tis-iz must ud stahm ud adādīh ud garzišn nē hē ? (18) cē x^{v}adāy ud šahriyār mard x^{v}adāyīh ud šahriyārīh, ēg burzišnīg ka-š x^{v}ēš šahr ud šahriyārīh ped x^{v}ēš xrad ōn pādan ud dāštan tuvān kū-š az x^{v}ēš kunišn dušmen āxistan[4] ud vināh ud zyān kirdan nē ayārend ; (19) ayāb ka-š az x^{v}ēš kunišn dušmen āxēzed[5], ā-š az x^{v}ēš menišnīg dōstān abāz dāštan ud harv kas abēmust kirdan tuvānēned.

(20) did ēn kū : ka abarvēz ud cēr ud pādyāvand, (21) ā-š abarvēzīh ud cērīh ud pādyāvandīh abar kē ? (22) cē abarvēzīh ud cērīh abar dušmenān hambidīg baved. (23) hambidīg dušmen x^{v}ad nē ō x^{v}ēš sazed[6] būdan. (24) dā ka-š dušmen hambidīgīh nēst kē-š abar abarvēz ud cēr baved, (25) ā-š abarvēzīh ud cērīh

3 . aβə̄cār : nirupāyaṁ.

4 . xahastan : kadarthayituṁ. West :  ‘to detract’; Menasce : peut-être *x^{v}āstan ‘fouler’.

5 . nyāžəṯ : kṣīṇayati. West ‘covets’ ; Menasce: *vixāžet ‘se force’.

6 . « K28 adds , and JE , having misunderstood AK’s correction in S. » Jamasp-Asana.

abar nē gōbīhed. (26) cē abar x^vēš tan gāv-iz ud gōspend, ka-šān hamēstār ud vizūdār nēst, cēr ud abarvēz hend !

(27) did ēn kū : ped yazdīh ud vazurgīh ī x^vēš dānāg ud hunsand ayāb nē ? (28) agar dānāg ud hunsand, ēgiš ped x^vēš dānišn ud kām, dušmen ud bazakkar kirdan, hamāg andar šahr višōb abgandān, ped vadagīh[7] ī šahr ud dāmān hunsand būdan, (29) bazag ud anāgīh-išān x^vāstan, x^vad abar-šān dušmen ud nifrīngar būdan, mardōm anāgīhmadār ud dušoxīg kirdan cē sazed ?

(30) did ēn kū : harv cē gōbed, rāstīhā vābar gōbed ayāb nē ? (31) agar rāstīhā vābar gōbed, hān ī gōbed kū kirbagdōst ud bazagdušmen ham, (32) hamē bazag ud bazakkarān vēš dahed kū kirbag ud kirbakkarān, ā-š rāst gōbišn kū ?

(34) did ēn kū : -š kām vehīh ayāb vattarīh ? (35) agar-š kām vattarīh, ā-š yazdīh az cē ? (36) agar-š kām vehīh, ēg cim vattarān ud vattarīh vēš hend kū vehān ud vehīh ?

(37) did ēn kū : abaxšāyišngar ast ayāb nē? (38) agar-š nē abaxšāyišngar, ā-š yazdīh az cē ? (39) agar-š abaxšāyišngar, ēg cim gōbed kū : -m dil, gōš, cašm ī mardōmān bē āvišt[8] kū-šān nē tuvān menīdan, guftan, ud kirdan, bē hān ī man abāyed.

(40) ast ī-š, ped handāz[9], meh ud āzād kird; (41) ast ī-š, ped vas ēvēnag marg, ōzad[10] ud abesihēnīd ud ō dušox ī jāyēdānag

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[7] . nəkī : śubhena.

[8] . haβast : vimudritavān. West : hanbast ‘shut up, close’ ; Menasce : *ōbast ‘lié’.

[9] . anyāž :animnatvena. West : ‘without want’.

[10] . « All ; but corrected in JE. » Jamasp-Asana.

abgand. (42) « kū dā hān ī abāz kunam, veh ud kirbakkardar bend. » (43) nūn-z hān ī abāz kird bē x^{v}azārag enyā[11] (44) az hān ī pēš vas bazakkardar ud vināhgārdar hend.

(45) did ēn kū : agar harv cē kuned dānāgīhā ud ped cim kuned, (46) ēg ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, cim āfurišn ī nax^{v}istēn ī-š vīrāst peristagān ō dēvīg aburdframānīh ī-š andar mardōm ō durvandīh ud dušoxīgīh vašt hend ? (47) agar-š nē dānist kū vardend[12], ā-š uzmāyišn kār sazed framūdan. (48) cē nūn vasān hazārān, bēvarān ī-š vīrāst kū-š peristend, u-š x^{v}adāyīh mehēnend[13], hāmōyēn aburdframān, aniyūšhandarz[14] būd hend. (49) cē abāg hān kamdānišnīh ī mardōm, ī nē ōn vīrāyīhed pesāzīhed kū mardōm kāmag, (50) agar-z baved tis ī pesāzend ud vīrāyend ī nē ōn abar āyed ud baved (/ šaved)[15] cōn-šān kāmag, did abāz ō virāyišn ī hān tis nē ēstend ud aziš pahrēzend, (51) ā ōy x^{v}adāy ī visptuvān ud vispāgāh dā nūn vasān amar tis kird ud vīrāst, ēk-iz nē ōn abar āyed ud baved cōn-š kāmag ; pas-iz az vīrāstan ud dādan ī nōg nōg nē hamē pahrēzed.

(52) cōn ka-š hān ī nax^{v}istēn frēstagān dādār ī-šān, grāmīgīh rāy az ātaš vīrāst, cand hazār sāl (53) ī cōn gōbend kū peristišn ī ōy hamē kird ; (54) abdum ped ēk framān agird ī-š dād kū « namāz ō ēn mardōm ī nax^{v}istēn ī-m az gil vīrāst bared ! » (55) u-š būzišn ī ped nē sazed burdan cimīgīhā guft, (56) ēg-iš ped

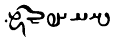
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[11] . x^{v}azār kunəṇd :apakāraṁ kurvvanti.

[12] . vardinəṇd: viparyayiṣyaṁti.

[13] . mastəṇd: mādyaṁti.

[14] . anə̄kīaṇdarž : aśubhopadeṣṭāraḥ.

[15] .  AK, MH 19.

vīr[16] ud nifrīn ud xēšm tar ud x^{v}ār kird, (57) ud ō dēvīh ud druzīh vardēnīd ud az vahišt bērōn kird, (58) hazāragīhā zīndagīh ud x^{v}adāyīh ī jāyēdānag dād (59) kū « šavom, bannagān ud peristagān ī tō[17] abērāh ud viyābān kunom ! » (60) u-š ō x^{v}ēš kām vizūdār ud pedyārag kird.

(61) abdum hān-z mard kē-š, grāmīgīh ud āzarm rāy, ōy ī frēstag mahist, abāg vasān peristagān, namāz aviš[18] burd framūd, (62) ō bōyestān ī vahišt kird (63) kū varzed ud harvisp bar x^{v}ared, (64) bē hān ēk draxt ī-š framūd kū mā x^{v}ared. (65) u-š abāg avēšān frēftār ī viyābān(ēn)īdār vīrāst (66) ud andar bōyestān hišt. (67) ī ast kē mār gōbed, ast kē ahrmen. (68) u-š cihr ī x^{v}ardārīh ud āzvarīh ham x^{v}ad ō ōy mardōm dād. (69) pas hān viyābāngar frēft hend kū « az hān draxt x^{v}ared ! » (70) ast kē ādam gōbed. (71) u-šān ped hān cihr ī x^{v}ardārīh x^{v}ard. (72) pas az x^{v}ardan ōn dānišnumand būd hend kū-šān veh ud vattar šnāxt ud dānist. (73) az hān ōn āzarm ud grāmīgīh ped hān ēk handarz ī-šān framōšīd, (74) ud hān framōšīdārīh ham az ōy vahān, (75) abāg zan, avēšān ped grān xēšm ud anāzarmīh az vahišt bōyestān bērōn kird (76) ud ō dast ī ōy dušmen ī frēftār ud viyābāngar abespārd hend, (77) kū-šān kām ī x^{v}ēš abar rāyēned[19] ud abar-šān kārēned[20].

(78) nūn kadām ast adādīh, abēcimframānīh, pasxradīh ud kamdānišnīh ī az ēn zīfāndar ud anāgdar ? (79) ēn-z kū-š hān

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16 . vīr : karddamena. Pers. گویر rendering Arab. بث ‘misfortune, sadness’ (قرآن پاک، یوسف، ۸۲).

17 . mən.

18 . haš.

19 . rāinīṯ.

20 . kārinīṯ.

bōyestān cim ōn drubušt ud avistvār nē kird kū hān viyābāngar andar nē šud hād ? (80) nūn-z vasān bannagān ud peristišngarān ī ōy viyābān kird ud kuned. (81) u-š ped ham cim vasān peygāmbarān ud vaxšvarān āvām āvām ō gētīg brihēnīd (82) kū « bannagān ī man az dast ī ōy viyābāngar būzānd[21], (83) ō rāh ud ristag ī rāst āvarānd. » (84) u-š avēšān-z frēstagān ud peygāmbarān ī x^{v}ēš kē-šān x^{v}ēškārīh mardōm ō rāh ud pand ī frārōn āvurd būd hāmōyēn ped x^{v}ēš kām ped vad marg ōzad ud ānāft hend, (85) hān ī bun viyābāngar ud abērāhēnīdār jāyēdān zīndag hišt ēsted. (86) dā-z nūn kām ī ōy ped viyābāngarīh ud abērāhēnīdārīh abarvēzdar ud kāmgārdar kū hān ī yazd. (87) cē viyābānān ud abērāhān vas frāydar hend kū rāstrāhān ud aviyābānān.

(88) did ēn kū : harv cē kuned ped cim kuned ayāb nē? (89) agar abēcim kuned, halakkunišn. (90) ud ōy ī halakkunišn ped yazdīh ī frazānag nē sazed stāyīdan. (91) agar ped cim kuned, (92) ēg ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ēn hamāg dām ī cōn dēv-iz ud mardōm ī aburdframān ī pedīrag kām ī ōy kušāg ud viyābānēnīdār ud amar dām ī abēsūd cim?

(93) did ēn kū: agar harvisp ast ud būd ud baved dāned, ā-š nē sazed, ped x^{v}ēš dānišn ud kām, tis āfrīdan kē-š aziš pašīmān, u-š pedīrag kām ud framān ēsted, (94) u-š peygāmbarān kāmišngarān pedyārag baved. (95) agar gōbend kū[22] "ēn pedyārag az bun veh ud nēk āfrīd, pas ō vattarīh ud dāmān abērāhēnīdārīh vašt", (96) ā ē gōbed kū ka ōy visptuvān cim kām ī pedyārag ped vaštan ī ō vattarīh ud dāmān abērāhēnīdārīh

[21] . bōžəṇd.
[22] . u.

cērdar ud pādyāvanttar kū hān ī yazd? (97) cē vattarīh andar āvām nirōgdar kū vehīh.

(98) did ēn kū: ka bazakkar ham ped kām ī ōy, (99) u-š menišn ī bazakkarān x^{v}ad vīft, (100) u-š tōhm ī bazag x^{v}ad kišt (101) kū (ka)[23] rust az bunēšt[24], (102) ēk ōzad, ēk pādāšnēnīd, az kadām nirōg ī dādestānumandīh?

(103) did ēn kū: -š ēn gēhān, ped cim, ō rāmišn ī x^{v}ēš, āsānīh ud nēkīh ī mardōmān rāy kird ud dād, ayāb abēcim, ō dušrāmīh ī x^{v}ēš, ud avištāb ud ērang ud dard ud marg ī mardōmān <rāy>? (104) cē agar-š abēcim kird, halakkārīhā; (105) abēcim tis az dānāgān nē pedīrišnīg. (106) agar-š ped cim kird, u-š ō rāmišn ī x^{v}ēš, ud āsānīh ud nēkīh ī mardōmān dād, (107) ā-š ābādān ud purnēkīh cim nē kird? (108) agar-š az vīrāyišn ī mardōm ud dām rāmišn ud nēkīh, ā-š az ōzanišn ud višōbišn sūd cē?

(109) agar-š menišn ī bazag nē x^{v}ad ō mardōmān dād, ā kē ast kē jud az framān ud kām ī ōy menišn ī bazag dahed? (110) agar-š x^{v}ad dād u-šān nūn āhōg abar dāred, ā-š rāstīh ud meyānjīgīh az cē? (111) cē ka mardōm abāg kamdānišnīh ud kamxradīh, pas-iz šagr ud gurg ud abārīg xrafstarān, cand-išān tuvān, ō rēdagān[25] ud ābastān[26] ī x^{v}ēš nē hilend (112) dā kū-šān tabāhēnānd. (113) nūn yazd ī abaxšāyišngar ahrmen ud dēv ped x^{v}ēš dām cim andar hišt (abgand) (114) kū-š kōr ud karr ud vīftag ud durvand ud dušoxīg kird hend? (115) agar uzmāyišn

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[23] . kū AK, ka JJ, JE.

[24] . kə bun dāšt : kasya mūle dadhau.

[25] . rə̄dagą : ḍimbheṣu. Less likely rēdagān ‘young boys’. Or, rēzagān? Cf. Pers. ریژ /rēž/ ‘hilly ground’.

[26] . āβastąn : gosthāneṣu. West (& Menasce): ‘pregnant females’; Bailey: ōstān ‘dwelling-place’.

rāy kird –cōn hān ī gōbend kū-š vad uzmāyišn ī abar dāmān rāy dād –, (116) ā-š pēš az hān mardōm ud dām cim nē šnāxt? (117) cē kē-š dastvar uzmāyišn, vīspāgāh nē x^{v}ānišn.

(118) hangird ēn kū: yazd ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ā-š abēvizendīhā harv dām ud dahišn dādan tuvān būd, cim nē dād? (119) ayāb-iš kāmist, nē tuvān būd? (120) agar-š kāmist, nē tuvānist, nē bavandag tuvānīg. (121) agar-š tuvānist, ud nē kāmist, nē abaxšāyišngarīhā. (122) agar-š dānist kū az ēn dām ud dahišn ī daham, tis kas baved ī nē andar kām ī man, (123) ud abdum kird, (124) ēg nūn ēn hamāg ahunsandīhā ped x^{v}ēš <dām> kirdan, peyvastag[27] xēšm ud nifrīngarīh ud abgandan ī ō pādifrāh ī dušox abēcim.

(125) did ēn kū: agar hamāg bazagmenišnīh, bazaggōbišnīh ud bazakkunišnīh, vināh ī mardōm menend, gōbend ud kunend, ēdōn-z dard, vēmārīh, driyušīh, pādifrāh ud anāgīh ī dušox bē ped kām ud framān ī yazd būdan nē šāyed, (126) yazd kām ud tuvān hamēšag, (127) cē-š x^{v}adīh-iz hamēšag, (128) nūn kas-iz hamēšagīhā[28] az anāgīh ud pādifrāh bōxtan anemēdīh ēvar. (129) cē gugānīhā[29] pēdāg kū ēc frahangbed ud avistād nēst kē-š az ēn anāg ud vadkāmagīh abāz dāred, (130) agar pargast[30] hamgōnag ī avēšān frēstagān ud dastvarān kē ō mardōmān handarz ēn kird kū: “bazag ud vināh mā kuned!” (131) cē kām ud framān ī yazd spuxtan kāmend.

[27] . paeβastan : pravarttanena. Possibly pedistīg.

[28] . hamə̄šaī : nityāt.

[29] . dugānihā : prācuryeṇa.

[30] . parast : ārādhitaḥ.

(132) ēn-z kū: cōn-š harv do kām, ham bazag ud ham kirbag, nē pēdāg kū kirbag ī kirbakkarān vēš pesanned ayāb bazag ī bazakkarān.

(133) ē-z: avēšān bizeškān kē emēd ī ruvān rāy vēmārān dārūg kunend, (134) u-šān dard ud vēmārīh spōzend ud hilend, (135) kū-šān az hān kunišn kirbag x^{v}ēšīhed, (136) bē ō pādifrāh ī dušox peyrāst ēstend; (137) ud avēšān kē ruvān dōšārm rāy driyuš niyāzvand[31] acār[32] mardōm tis dahend, (138) u-šān niyāz ud driyušīh aziš ōgārend[33] ud hilend, (139) kū-šān az hān kunišn kirbag x^{v}ēšīhed, (140) bē-šān vināh ī grān baved ped tāšt. (141) agar gōbend kū "avēšān bizeškān darmān ī barend, avēšān kē-z driyušān ud acārān tis dahend hamāg ped kām ī yazd", (142) ā ka yazd apedyārag ud ahamēstār, ā-š vēmārīh ud driyušīh nē dādan āsāndar ud cimīgdar, ud ō yazdīh pessazagdar (143) az hān kū-šān x^{v}ad vēmār ud driyuš kirdan, ud ō mardōmān framūdan[34] kū "ašmāh-išān drust ud abēniyāz kuned!"

(144) agar gōbend kū "-š kām ēn kū avēšān bizeškān ud dādārān ped hān pādāšn ī nēkīh-išān pediš kuned (145) u-šān ō vahišt ī jāyēdānag zāmēned", (146) ā ē nigered kū: cōn adādestānīhā ud atuvānīhā ka nēkīh ud ābādīh[35] abar ēv[36] bannag[37] kāmag būd rāy vasān avināhān ī mustumand, driyuš, niyāzumand, vēmār ud anāgīhmadār kuned! (147) ēn-z kū[38]:

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[31] . nyāžaṇd : nāstika. Cf. Sogd. nyʾzʾwt.
[32] . āžār : duḥkhita.
[33] . hugārəṇd : अपहरंति.
[34] . farmūṯ.
[35] . āžādī JJ.
[36] . han : anya.
[37] . buṇdaa (kāmag): saṁpurṇakāme.
[38] . kuš.

agar-š nēkīh ud ābādīh abar ēk bē ped must ud dard ud bēš ī anī kirdan nē tuvān, (148) ā-š ō tuvānkirdārīh, kāmgārīh ud ahamēstārīh nē pessazag.

(149) agar gōbend kū: avēšān vēmārān, driyušān, ped mēnōg, ped hān pādāšn ō vahišt ud nēkīh ī jāyēdānag zāmēned, (150) ā agar-š pādāšn ī ped mēnōg bē ped anāgīh ī gētīg dādan nē tuvān, nē spurrīgtuvān. (151) ēn-z kū: -š mustkirdārīh ī ped gētīg abēgumānīhā pēšdastīhā[39] ud abēcimīhā; (152) ud pādāšn ī mēnōg gumān(īg)īhā, avurravišn(īg)īhā ud pas az mustgarīh. (153) cōn must ī pēš abēcim, pādāšn ī pas ham abēcīmīhā ud halagīhā. (154) ēn-z kū: ēc āzādīh ī pas ō must ī pēš ped avahānīh nē ayābīhed.

(155) did ēn kū: az ēn si ēvēnag ēk būdan acār. (156) ēk, harv cē andar ēn gēhān ast ud būd ud baved, hamāg ped kām ī ōy ayāb nē; (157) ayāb ast ī-š ped kām ud ast ī nē. (158) cōn tis-iz nē ayābīhed ī nē nēk, ayāb vad, ayāb āmixtag ī az harv do.

(159) agar gōbend kū “-š hamāg kām, ā-š nēk ud vad harv do kām. (160) agar-š nēk ud vad harv do kām, anuspurrīkkām. (161) ped ēk-iz nē spurrīg. (162) ud ōy ī anuspurrīkkām, anuspurrīgx^{v}adīh šāyed būdan, (163) cōn azabar nimūd. (164) agar-š ēc nē kām, (165) ēc kām nē būdan rāy, nēstkām. (166) ud ōy ī nēstkām cihrīkkunišn. (167) ud ōy ī cihrīkkunišn cihrēnīdag ud kirdag. (168) agar ast ī-š kām ud ast ī-š nē kām, (169) tis-iz andar gēhān nē ayābīhed ī nē nēk ud nē vad, (170) ā agar yazd nēk kām, ā-š vad nē kāmīg, āšnāg. (171) ud hān ī vad nē ped

[39] . pə̄šjastihā : prāk prāptaṁ. West : ‘through previous occurrence’ ; Menasce : ‘prématurément’. Cf. Pers. پیشدستی کردن ‘to perform soon/ quickly’.

kām ī ōy. (172) agar-š vad kām, ā-š nēk nē kāmīg, acār. (173) ud hān ī nēk nē ped kām ī ōy. (174) agar hān ī nēk kām ī yazd, hān ī vad az anī kām būdan, āšnāg. (175) agar hān ī vad kām ī ōy, hān ī nēk az anī kām būdan[40], acār. (176) acārīg pēdāgīhed hambidīg ī kām ī yazd.

(177) agar vad az mardōm uzed[41] gōbed, (178) ā cōn mardōm nē hamēšag-x^vadīh, ā acārīg ayāb vad pēš az mardōm būd ayāb pas, (179) ayāb abāg mardōm būd. (180) agar "pēš az mardōm būd" gōbend, (181) ā cōn jud az yazd anī āfrīdār ud dādār nē būd, (182) ā vad ayāb yazd dād, ayāb x^vad x^vadīh[42] dād, ayāb x^vad hamēvīg būd. (183) agar "pas az mardōm būd" gōbend, (184) ā ka gōhr ī mardōmīh ham dahišn ī yazd, (185) ud mardōm vad yazd andar gōhr nē dād, (186) ped kunišn cōn aziš uzīhed? (187) agar-šān vad ped kunišn kird jud az kām ī yazd, (188) ud yazd dānišn ī ped kirdan pediš būd, (189) ā yazd ped x^vēš kām anuspurrīg; (190) ud mardōm, ped kām ud framān ī yazd spuxtan, ud hambidīg ī kām ī yazd vad kirdan, cēr ud abarvēz hend, (191) ud yazd andar x^vēš kām ud x^vēš bannagān zōr apādyāvand, pēdāg. (192) agar gōbend kū "-šān pas ō dušox pādifrāh ī škeft zāmēned", (193) ā agar yazd tuvānkirdār bazag kirdan nē hištan ud az menišn-šān bē kirdan sūttar, ō-z x^vābarīh ī yazd pessazagdar kū kirdan hišt. (194) acārīhā pediš hunsand būd; (195) pas hunsandīhā x^vēš dāmān pādifrāhēned. (196) ped kār ēk ī uskāram, ayāb atuvānīgīh ayāb kamdānišnīh ayāb kamvehīh aziš pēdāgīhed.

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[40] . būt̰.

[41] . x^važət̰ : prabhavatīti.

[42] . x^vadī : svayaṁ. x^vad-iš?

(197) agar gōbend kū “yazd vad dād ud āfrīd ped hān cim kū dā mardōm arzumandīh ī nēkīh bē šnāsend”, (198) ā ē nigered kū: agar vad šnāxtan ī <arzumandīh ī> nēkīh rāy abāyišnīg ud sūdumand, ā-š vad ast veh kām. (199) agar-š vad ast veh kām ud abāyišnīg ud sūdumand, ō hān ī gōbend kū-š vad nē kām hambasān. (200) hān-z ī gōbend kū “-š marg, dard, ud driyušīh hān cim rāy dād kū dā mardōmān arzumandīh ī zīndagīh ud drustīh ud tuvānīgīh abērdar šnāsend, (201) ud andar yazd spāsdārdar bavend”, (202) ā ē nigered kū: cōn abēcimkunišnīhā ped hān ēvēnag ī ōy kē arz ud vahāg ī pādzahr abzōn rāy, zahr ō mardōmān dahed, (203) kū dā pādzahr grāndar ud arzumanttar frōšed. (204) ēn az kadām meyānjīgīhkunišnīh kū šnāxtan ī arzumandīh ī nēkīh ī anī rāy dard ud marg ud anāgīh abar anī avināh hiled?

(205) did hān ī grōh-ē az avēšān gōbend kū “yazd ped harv dām ud dahišn pādixšā.(206) cē-š dahišnān hamāg hān ī x^vēš hend. (207) cōn-š abāyed, cē-š abāyed, abar-šān kuned, nē mustgar. (208) cē must hān ī abar tis ī nē x^vēš kunend. (209) ēg hān kē tisān hamāg x^vēš, cōn-š abāyed, abar-šān kuned, nē mustgar.” (210) ā ē dāned kū: agar pādixšāyīh rāy hān-z kē[43] must kuned nē mustgar x^vānišn, (211) ā ōy-iz kē pādixšā (ud) drōv gōbed rāstgōbišn ast, (212) ōy-iz kē pādixšāyīh rāy bazag ud vināh ud duzīh[44] ud appar kuned nē vināhgar x^vānišn. (213) ōn cōn hān ī hufravard rōšn ī ādurfarrōbayān ped hangōšīdag guft (214) kū: “-šān mard-ē dīd kē xar-ē hamē marzed. (215) ka-

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43 . ą ki JJ, ą kə JE.

44 . duž : cauryaṁ. We can also read duz adj. ‘thief, stealer’, n. ‘theft’. Cf. Dk viii M 722 juttarīh ī duz az appar.

šān aziš pursīd kū: ēn nikōhīdag[45] kār cim kuneh? (216) u-š ped būzišn guft kū: xar-ē am x^{v}ēš!"

(217) did ēn az-išān ē pursed (218) kū: yazd ēn dām ud dahišn ī-š kird, avišān dōst ayāb dušmen? (219) agar dām dōst, ā-š nē sazed vad ud anāgīh ī dāmān abāyistan ud dādan, (220) x^{v}ēš āfurišnān az višōbišn ud anāgīh-išān hagriz sagr nē būdan[46]. (221) agar dām dušmen, ā-š nē sazed ped x^{v}ēš tuvān ud dānišn hān tis āfrīdan ud dādan ī-š dušmenyādīhā[47], u-š pedīrag kām kuxšed.

(222) ēn-z pursed (223) kū: yazd hamēšag hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar, (224) ayāb dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar, (225) ayāb ast hangām ka hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar (226) ud ast hangām ka dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar? (227) agar hamēšag hudānāg ud hupādixšā ud āzādīhgar, (228) ā-š nēst andar šahr ud pādixšāyīh stahm ud must ud garzišn; (229) u-š dām dōstīh, ud dām aviš dōstīh, abēzag; (230) az im cim, abar x^{v}ēš dāmān abaxšāyišngar; (231) u-š dām spāshangār, aviš stāyīdār, ud abēzag dōst, (232) u-š nām-iz ī yazdīh arzānīhā x^{v}ēš. (233) agar dušdānāg ud dušpādixšā ud mustgar, (234) ā x^{v}ad ō dām abēzag dušmen, u-š dām-iz aviš hamēvēnag; (235) az ham cim, dām vināstār ud marnzēnīdār ud viyābāngar; (236) u-š dām aziš garzīdār, aviš kuxšīdār, ud abēzag dušmen; (237) u-š nām-iz ī yazdīh anarzānīg nām ax^{v}ēš[48]. (238) u-š hamēšagīh-iz rāy, dāmān

[45] . nigōīnaa : garhyataraṁ. West : اوهسو 'execrable'. Menasce: nikōhēnak.

[46] . būṯ.

[47] . (dušman) apaṯvāh : asānukūlaṁ. apeyvāh? West : apatūgīh 'disablement'; Menasce: peut-être *apēvahān 'sans raison'.

[48] . haβaṇdī : saṃnibhaṁ.

akanāragzamānīhā az must ud anāgīh abēbīm būdan anemēd. (239) agar ast hangām ka hupādišā ud hudānāg ud āzādīhgar, ud ast hangām ka abāzvaštag az ēn, (240) ā-š dōstīh ī dām gumēzag; (241) az gumēzagdōstīh gumēzag kunišn, (242) az gumēzakkunišnīh gumēzag x^{v}adīh-iz pēdāgīhed. (243) u-š dām-iz aviš gumēzagdōst. (244) az hambāy nē agar dōst ī-š nē dušmen, ud nē spāsdār ī-š nē garzišnīg, nē-z stāyīdār ī-š nē nikōhišnīg, ēn ēvēnag abar hamāg dām cihrīg pēdāg.

(245) did ēn kū: cōn hamāg tis ī andar gēhān, az ēn do nām ī nēk ud vad nē bērōn, (246) ā agar nēkīh ud vad harv do az yazd, ud ped kām ī yazd gōbīhed, (247) ā mustumand ahrmen abēcim dusravēnīdag, avināh ud abunēšt, hagriz vad ud abāzsār nē būd ud nē baved. (248) hān ī andar nibēg gōbed kū "ahrmen abāzsār būd, u-šān az vahišt bērōnēnīd" abēcim. (249) cē hān-z abāzsārīh ud aburdframānīh ham ped kām ī yazd.

(250) agar-z nēkīh az yazd, ud ped kām ī yazd, vad az mardōm gōbīhed, ēg ahrmen abunēšt ud abēvināh, u-š nifrīn ud nikōhišn abēcim. (251) agar pargast[49] ēn hamāg anāgīh ud vad nē az judgōhrīh, bē az x^{v}adīh ud ēvgōhrīh ī x^{v}ad yazd, (252) ā yazd ō x^{v}ēš rōn dušmen ud pedyārag ast.

(253) ēn-z kū: "bē az gōhr ī bazag bazagīh būd" guftan abēr viyābānīg. (254) cōn bazag az gōhr ī veh hangārdan viyābānīg, ā ahrmen kē bun bunēšt ast ī harv bazag, az dahišn ud āfurišn ī yazd hangārdan viyābānīgdar.

[49] . faraβast : प्रवृत्तोऽयं. Menasce: fravast.

(255) hangird ēn kū: agar nē[50] tis ast ī nē andar kām ī yazd, agar harv tis ped kām ī yazd, kas-iz nē vināhgār, (256) peygāmbar-z ud dēn brihēnīd abēcim. (257) agar ped vināhgārīh kas ēranzēnīdan[51] sazed, ōy ēranzēnīdan sazāgdar kē bun kirdār ud dāštār ($^{\times}$dādār) ud āfrīdār ī harv vad ud bazag. (258) agar-z vad ud bazag az ahrmen ayāb mardōm gōbīhed, ā cōn avēšān ham āfrīdag ud dādag ī yazd hend, ā-š bunxān[52] (bun vahān) ham ōy kē bun vahān[53] (bunxān) ī vad, (259) az vad vattar.

(260) ēn-z ē nigered kū: hāmōyēn kēšān az x^{v}ēš dastvar ud frēstag[54] ēn gōbend ka-šān guft ud handarzēnīd ō x^{v}ēš ram kū: "kirbag kuned ud az bazag pahrēzed!" (261) viyābānīh rāy ēn nē handēšend kū: bazag ī-š framūd kū "mā kuned, ud kē kuned ō dušox ī jāyēdānag abganam", hān az kū ud kadām bun sazed būdan? (262) kū agar ham az yazd, ā-š nē dādan āsānīhādar hād kū pas az dādan ud ō pēdāgīh āvurd(an) aziš pahrixtan framūd. (263) ōh-iz[55] ka ēc sūd ud vahān ī dādan ud āfrīdan ī vad nē šnāsam.

(264) did: andar-šān nibēgān abar kirbag ud bazag hambasānīhā gōbed (265) kū: "kirbag ud bazag harv do az man. (266) nē dēvān ud nē jādūgān ādōg[56] hend ped kas vizend kirdan. (267) nē kas dēn pedīrift kirbag kird, ud nē kas ped agdēnīh raft bazag, bē ped kām ī man!" (268) andar ham nibēg

[50] . fradim.

[51] . ərəžinīt̰ : avalopituṁ.

[52] . bunxąn : mūlanidhānaṁ.

[53] . bun vahąn : mūlakāranaṁ.

[54] . faražastaa : pravṛttāni.

[55] . ōca : yadica.

[56] . atū : samarthāḥ.

vasīhā pedist[57] bared ud nifrīn ō dāmān kuned (269) kū: “cim mardōm hān bazag ī man ped avēšān kāmam kāmend ud kunend?” (270) abar kām ud kunišn ī x^vēš dast baved, u-šān ō pādifrāh ī abar tan ud ruvān bīmēned. (271) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: “an x^vad ham viyābāngar ī mardōm. cē agar-am kāmag hād, ēg-am rāh ī rāst nimūd hend. bē-m kāmag kū ō dušox šavend.” (272) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: “mardōm x^vad hend kirdār ī bazag.” (273) ped ēn si ēvēnag, yazd abar x^vēš dām judēvēnag gugāyīh dahed: (274) ēk ēn kū, x^vad ahrmen; (275) ēk ēn kū, x^vad ast viyābāngar ī dām; (276) ped anī brahm, x^vēš abāg[58] ahrmen ped viyābāngarīh hambāy kuned kū: “ast ka an kunam, ud ast ka ahrmen.” (277) ped hān ī gōbed kū “mardōm bazag x^vad kunend”, ā-š x^vēš tan ped dūrīh ī az bazag abāg ahrmen hambāy kird. (278) cē agar mardōm bazag kunend az x^vēš gōhr ud x^vēš viyābānīh, ā yazd abāg ahrmen az bazagīh dūr. (279) cē cōn nē az yazd nē-z az ahrmen.

(280) did: az avēšān kē-šān muʿtazalīg[59] x^vānend ē pursed (281) kū: yazd hamāg mardōm ped āzādkāmīh[60] az bazag pahrixtan ud az dušox bōxtan ud ō vahišt zāmēnīdan kām ayāb nē? (282) agar gōbed kū “nē”, (283) ā-š vizīrēnīd abar kamvehīh ī yazd ud vattarīh ī-š kām. (284) az im[61] cim, ped yazdīh stāyīdan nē sazāg. (285) agar gōbed kū “-š kām”, (286) ā-š vizīrēned abar vehkāmīh ī yazd. (287) az im cim, ped yazdīh stāyīdan sazāg.

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57 . paeβastan : pracarya.

58 . x^və̄š dąm aβā.

59 . muθzarī : muthajarīkāḥ.

60 . āβāṯkāmī : svatantrakāmatayā.

61 . ham.

(288) ēn-z kū: agar-š kām kirdan tuvānīg ayāb nē? (289) agar gōbed kū “nē”, (290) ā-š vizīrēned abar atuvānīgīh ī yazd ped hān ī-š kām. (291) az im cim, ped yazdīh ī visptuvān stāyīdan nē sazāg. (292) agar gōbend kū “kām kirdan tuvānīg”, (293) ā-š vizīrēned abar tuvānīgīh ī hān ī-š kām. (294) az im cim, <ped> yazdīh ī vīsptuvān stāyīdan sazāg.

(295) did ēn kū: ka-š kām kirdan tuvānīg, kuned ayāb nē? (296) agar gōbed kū “kuned”, (297) ā pēdāgīhist hē abar hamāg mardōm pahrixtan ī az vināh, bōxtan ī az dušox, rasīdan[62] ī ō vahišt. (298) ēn hān ī-š astīh apēdāg, ud x^{v}ēš-iz dēn drōzangar. (299) agar gōbed kū “-š kām kirdan tuvānīg, bē nē kuned”, (300) ā-š vizīrēned abar anabaxšāyišngarīh ī yazd ud mardōmdušmenīh ud x^{v}ēš kām aravāgīh. (301) cē agar kuned, ā-š x^{v}ad nē zyān, ud mardōm sūd, u-š xvēš kām ravāg. (302) agar nē kuned, ā-š x^{v}ad nē sūd, ud mardōm zyān, u-š x^{v}ēš kām aravāg.

(303) did ēn kū: pad kām nē kuned ayāb akām? (304) agar gōbed kū “pad kām nē kuned”, (305) ā-š vizīrēned kū yazd nēkkām, u-š nēk kirdan nē kām. (306) ēn hambasānīh rāy handēšīdan-z zīfān. (307) agar gōbed kū “akām, ē rāy nē kuned”, (308) ā vizīrēned abar nizārīh ī yazd andar x^{v}adīh, ayāb astīh ī vizūdār ī-š kām.

(309) hangird ēn kū: ēn gētīg rāyēnīdār ī ahamēstār ī ahambidīg ī spurr ped dānāgīh ud vehīh ud tuvānīgīh hād, ēn hamāg asazākkunišnīh ud must ud anāgīh ud dard ud bēš frāyist mardōm ud abārīg dām nē hē. (310) cē ka rāyēnīdār ud

[62] . rastan : samānayanaṁ ca. (pahrəxtan i əž gunāh u rastan əž dōžax u āβardan JE).

ahamēstār ud ped dānāgīh spurr, vad nē būdan cār ud darmān ī vad bē burden-z dāned. (311) ka ped vehīh spurr ud abaxšīdār, vad būdan fradumīh nē kām, ud nēstīh kām. (312) ka ped tuvānīgīh spurr, vad hambun-z nē būdan tuvānīg. (313) nūn cōn andar gētīg kē-š rāyēnīdār yazd ast, vad astīh agumānīhā vēnābdāg, pas az ēn do[63] nē jud: ayāb kū rāyēnīdār hamēstārumand, ayāb ahamēstār. (314) agar vad nē būdan cār, ud darmān ī vad bē burden nē dāned, pēdāgīhed aziš[64] abavandag dānāgīh ī yazd. (315) ayāb-iš vad ast veh kām, pēdāgīhed (aziš) abavandag vehīh ī-š kām. (316) ayāb vad nē būdan, ud bē burdan nē tuvānīg, pēdāgīhed abavandag tuvānīgīh ī yazd. (317) ud ka ped dānāgīh ayāb vehīh ayāb tuvānīgīh ēk-iz nē bavandag, <ā> ped yazdīh ī visptuvān ī vispveh ī vispdānāg stāyīdan ud peristīdan[65] nē sazāg.

(318) ēn-z ē dāned kū: cōn ēc astag tis ī kunāg kāmagumand bē cōnīh nē ādōg būd, (319) ā agar dādār bun astīh yazd(īg)īh, u-š cōnīh rōšnīh ud huzihrīh ud hubōyīh ud pākīh ud vehīh ud dānāgīh, ēgiš hān ī cōn tārīkīh ud duščihrīh ud gennagīh ud rīmanīh ud vattarīh ud adānāgīh x^{v}ad dēvīh cōnīh, aziš dūr sazed būdan.

(320) agar-š bun astīh tisīh[66] dēv(īg)īh, u-š cōnīh tārīkīh ud duščihrīh ud gennagīh ud rīmanīh ud vattarīh ud adānīh, ēgiš hān ī yazdīh cōnīh aziš bēgānag[67] ēsted. (321) agar ēk ast kē-š ēn harv aziš[68] andar-š x^{v}adīh ī avizārišnīg[69] gumixtag, ā-š aziš[70]

[63] . and.
[64] . vaš.
[65] . parastan : arc.
[66] . θisī :kācit. Jāmasp-Asana : θis i.
[67] . bə̄gąnī : bahir.
[68] . vaš.

avizārišnīgīh[71] rāy ped nēkīh andar x^vēš anāgīh vizārdagīh nēst. (322) nūn-z umēdvārān[72] umēd uzed[73]. (323) cē ōy-iz kē kirbakkarīh rāy ō vahišt šaved, ānōh-iz ped vad ud anāgīh; (324) cē ānōh-iz nēkīh ī az vad jud ud vizārišnīg[74] nēst. (325) agar hambun-z nēkīh ast ī jud az anāgīh, ā anāgīh-iz ast ī az nēkīh jud ud vizārdag. (326) ēn āšnāg kū: nēkīh ud anāgīh judīh az judgōhrīh. (327) ka-šān judīh ud vizārišn ī <ēk> az did ī judgōhrīhā do bun pēdāg, ā umēdvārān umēd rāst. (328) u-šān dānāgīh parvānag[75].

(329) ēn-z dāned kū: harv soxan ī nē ped x^vēš vimand, abēbrahm ud apedx^{v}āh (?) [76]. (330) ēn-z kū: vimand ī yazdīh māyagvar dānāgīh. (331) vimand ī dānāgīh ēk sūdumandkunišnīh. (332) sūdumandkunišnīh nē zyāngārīh. (333) zyāngārīh ēvēnagān si: (334) ēk, hān ī-š x^vad nē sūd, ud anīz zyān; (335) <ēk, hān ī anīz nē sūd, ud x^vad zyān;> (336) ēk, hān ī x^vad zyān, ud anīz zyān.

(337) ud yazd ī dānākkār az āfrīdan ī ahrmen ud dēvān x^vad nē sūd, anīz zyān; (338) u-š kām az x^vēš kunišn aravāgīh hamē pēdāgīhed.

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[69] . avazirašnī : aviktāyāṁ.

[70] . vaš.

[71] . avazirašnī : avibhaktatvat.

[72] . ōmədārą : āśākarāṇāṁ.

[73] . x^važīṯ : vilīnā. Menasce : *anāwat ou *anāwihet.

[74] . jaṯvazārašnī : pṛthak vibhakti. West [illegible].

[75] . farβānaa : sahāyinī. West : parβānaa ‘assistance, passport’ ; Menasce : faržānaa ‘adéquate’.

[76] . apaṯx^vāβ (apaṯx^vāh JE) : anabhilaṣaṇīyaṁ. West : ‘unenquiring’ ; Menasce : ‘irrationel’. Cf. Dk iv, M 430 [illegible].

(339) ēn-z kū: agar yazd kām vehīh, (340) u-š kām hamēšag, (341) ud ped sazed kām tuvānīg hē, (342) <hān pēdāg> kū az bun dā frazām, andar gēhān, hamāg vehīh ud frārōnīh ī yazd kām raft hē; (343) nūn pēdāg kū, vattarīh ud abārōnīh vas vēš hamē raved. (344) pas az ēn <do> ēk: ayāb ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, ayāb akām. (345) agar ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, <ā> pēdāg kū-š kām-iz ped vattarīh hamcōn ped vehīh. (346) ayāb ped kām atuvānīg ud vardišnīg. (347) cōn kām bē az vahān, ayāb bē az vardēnīdār nē varded[77], (348) ā az ēn do ēk: ayāb vahān-ē rāy, ayāb-iš anī ast vardēnīdār ī-š kām. (349) agar nē ped kām ī yazd hamē raved, (350) ā pēdāg kū yazd andar x^{v}ēš kām acārag[78], u-š kām nē spurrīg. (351) ayāb-iš ast vizūdār-ē ī <abāz->dāštār kām.

(352) ēn-z kē gōbend kū “yazd ō ādam framūd kū: az ēn ēk draxt ī andar vahišt mā x^{v}ared!” (353) az-išān ē pursed (354) kū: framān ī yazd ō ādam dād kū “az ēn draxt mā x^{v}ared!” nēk būd ayāb vad? (355) agar framān nēk būd, pēdāg kū draxt vad būd. (356) <ā> nē sazed yazd tis ī vad āfrīdan. (357) agar draxt nēk būd, framān vad dād. ā nē sazed yazd vad framān dādan. (358) agar draxt nēk būd, u-š framān ī ped nē x^{v}ardan[79] dād, ā ō vehīh ud abaxšāyīdārīh ī yazd nē[80] pessazag nēkīh az bannagān ī avināh ī x^{v}ēš abāz dāštan (abesihīdan/ abesistan)[81].

(359) ēn-z kē gōbend kū “yazd harv kē-š kāmed, ō vurravišn ud rāh ī rāst āvared, u-š ped hān pādāšn ō nēkravišnīh ī

[77] . vardinəṯ : viparyayati.

[78] . āžāraa : pīḍitaḥ.

[79] . nə̄ xādan : akhādane.

[80] . bə̄ pasažaa : ananurūpaṁ.

[81] . aβaxšastan : avagopituṁ. Menasce : apaxšāyītan.

jāyēdānag zāmēned; (360) kē-š nē kāmed, ā-š ped adēnīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh hiled, u-š ped hān cim ō dušox ud anāgīh ī jāyēdāng abganed.” (361) az avēšān ē pursed (362) kū: ōy veh kē-š abāyist ud kām ped dēn ud vurravišn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst, ayāb ōy kē-š abāyist ud kām ped abērāhīh ud adēnīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh? (363) agar gōbed kū “ōy veh kē-š abāyist ud kām ped dēn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst”, (364) nūn ōy mardōm kē yazd kāmag ī pediš ēn kū-š ped adēnīh ud abērāhīh ud yazd nēšnāsīh hiled, peygāmbar ayāb anī mardōmdōst[82] ō-š dēn ī yazd ud rāh ī rāst x^vāned, (365) ā-š yazd pediš veh ud sūdumanttar ayāb hān peygāmbar <ud> ōy mardōm<-dōst>. (366) agar gōbed kū “-š kām ī yazd pediš veh”, ā-š guft baved kū “yazd nē šnāxtan ud dēn nē pedīriftan ud abērāhīh veh”, ēn zīfān nē[83] pedīrišnīg [ud nē cāšišnīg]. (367) agar gōbed kū “-š ō rāh[84] ī rāst āmadan, ud yazd šnāxtan, pediš veh ud sūdumanttar”, (368) ā-š āškārag guft baved kū “-š peygāmbar ud mardōm<-dōst> pediš veh az yazd”. (369) cē mardōm kē-š abar mardōm rāstrāhīh ud yazdšnāsīh abāyed, u-š kām pediš, vas veh az ōy ī yazd, (370) kē-š abāzrāhīh ud anešnāxtārīh ud adēnīh abar-šān kāmag, yazd vas vattar az ōy mardōm.

(371) ēn-z kū: agar bazagmenišnīh ud bazakkarīh ī mardōm ped kām ī yazd, nūn hān kē yazd bazagmenišnīh dād u-š bazag andar menišn kišt, (372) u-š ahrmen ēvāz ō bazag kirdan x^vāned ud nix^{v}āred, ā-š bazagmenišnīh ī yazd ud[85] abāyist-iz ī pediš zōrumanttar ud vattar kū x^vandan ī ahrmen. (373) ka-š niyūšīdārīh-iz ī az ahrmen kirdan ī bazag, ham az

[82] . mardum i dōst : manuṣyaḥ sakhā.

[83] . rā nə.

[84] . dīn : dīni.

[85] . vaš.

bazagmenišnīh ī yazd dād, ud abāyist-iz ī pediš, nūn āšnāg kū yazd az ahrmen vas vattar ud vināhgārdar.

(374) abar ēn soxanīhā ī-mān ušmurd, (375) az ēn si[86] ēk šāyed būdan: (376) ayāb kū hamāg rāst, ayāb kū hamāg drōv, (377) ayāb ast ī rāst ud ast ī drōv. (378) agar hamāg rāst, harv soxan ī ō ēn soxan nē sazed drō. ud tis do: rāstīh ud drōzanīh. (379) agar hamāg drōv, harv soxan ī ō ēn soxan nē sazed rāst. ud tis ham do. (380) agar ast ī rāst ud ast ī drōv, (381) ēg hān ī rāst az gōhr ud nāf ī rāstīh, (382) ud hān ī drōv az gōhr ud nāf ud bunēštag ī drōzanīh. (383) bun do: ēk kē rāstīh aziš, ēk kē drōzanīh.

[86] . du.

haftum darag

12

(1) *anī abar hambasānīh ī-šān gōbišn, vāzag ēcand ī az dēngird nibēg.*

(2) hān ī gōbend kū : yazd pērāmōn harv tis, ēc tis nē andarōn ōy ; (3) ud andarōn harv tis, ēc tis nē pērāmōn ōy ; (4) azabar harv tis, ēc tis nē azēr ōy ; (5) ud azēr harv tis, ēc tis nē azabar ōy ; (6) abar taxt nišīyed, ud nē gyāgumand ; (7) ud andarōn asmān, ud nē kūmand ; (8) ud andar ēc gyāg nēst ud ast ; (9) harv gāh ast, u-š gyāg nēst ; (10) u-š harv tis ped kām ī x^vēš, x^vēš ōh[1] baved ; (11) bunēštag xēn[2] ud veh ; (12) ud jāyēdān anāmurz ud x^vābar ; (13) ud mustpeyrāy ud nē mustgar ; (14) u-š framūd ō kē kirdan ud spuxtan atuvānīg yazdīg framān ; (15) u-š hān ī avināh dušoxīg āfrīd nē mustgar ; (16) az durvandīh dušoxīgīh būd ī mardōm āgāh, u-š kām pediš ; (17) ud veh-kām ayāb-iš nē-kām būd ; (18) cārīgīh[3] dād bē x^vad[4] bēš ; (19) ayāb-iš nē cārīgīh, bē acārīgh dād. <   ud> nē hamēstārumand. (20) uzmāyišnniyāz ud harvispāgāh ; (21) framānspōz u-š x^vad kām ; (22) ud ōy kē spōzed bunēšt-aš[5], kuned hupādixšā. (23) u-š framān hamāg ravāg, (24) ud framānspōz ī ōy ayābišnīg ; (25) u-š kām ast ī nē ravāg ; (26) u-š spōzkām, nē vizūdārkām ; (27) u-š framūd hān ī-š nē kām ; (28) u-š framān ō kām nē hambasān, u-š

[1] . ō.

[2] . xīn : dveṣaḥ. Cf. Av. aēnah- nt. ‘wrong’ ; Toch. A enāk < *ainahaka- ‘evil’.

[3] . cārī : upāyena.

[4] . u nə̄ x^vaṯ : naca svayaṁ.

[5] . baṇdayaštī : bandhagrahītaṁ. West : bandak-gaštīh ‘restricted evolution’ ; Menasce : *bandak hast ē.

framān ō kām hambasān, harv do framān ; (29) u-š nēk kām, nē aravākkām ; (30) u-š vad kām, kē tis ī vad kuned, hān ast dādestānīg.

(31) anīz vas hambasānīh ī andar gōbišn ī kēšān. (32) agar peymānīg dēn az ē vas ēvēnag gōbišn nē šāyed būdan abēcār.

(33) enyā hān ī gōbend kū : « dobunēštaghangārān kār ī yazd nizār ud apādyāvand, (34) nē cōn ō vazurgīh ī yazd pessazag gōbend », (35) abar-z ēn dar, ast ī gōbem rōšnīhā ē framāyed[6] dānistan (36) kū :

tis ī yazdīg ōy nizārdar ud apādyāvanttar kuned (37) kū kē gōbed kū : āfurišnān ī x^{v}ēš ī-š āfrīd hamāg andar aburdframān ud aniyūšhandarz būd hend, (38) dā-z x^{v}ārtandum dām pedīrag kām ī ōy kuxšed. (39) ēdōn-z : avēšān vasān vaxšvarān peygāmbarān ī ōy ī-š brihēnīd hend, ōzad ud ped dār kird, (40) ud ast ī tar ud xvār ud anāzarm kird. (41) ēn-z kū : nē ēvāz x^{v}adāyīh ī x^{v}ēš az vattarān ī-š āfrīd nē pāyed[7], bē x^{v}adāyīh-iz ī x^{v}ēš x^{v}ad pedyāragēned[8]. (42) ud kirdārīh ī x^{v}ēš acārīhā x^{v}ad višōbed. (43) ud dahišn ī x^{v}ēš x^{v}ad agārēned[9]. (44) ped vināhgārīh ī x^{v}ēš bannagān ī avināh ī x^{v}ēš x^{v}ad zaned. (45) dōst ī ēkānag ī x^{v}ēš x^{v}ad nizār ud niyāzumand ud vināhgār ud viyābān kuned. (46) ud xēšm ī ped ēk bannag ī avināh ī cōn ahrmen, amar dām ī x^{v}ēš vinī[10] ud viyābān kuned. (47) abar vināh ī sāmānumand ī-š az x^{v}ēš kunišn anī pādifrāh ī asāmān abar

[6] . farmāyast.

[7] . pāṯ.

[8] . patyārainīṯ.

[9] . āgārinəṯ.

[10] . avīn : vikalāṁ.

avināhān nihed. (48) dar ī āmurzišn sarumandīhā[11] frāz banned. (49) u-š az dard ud bēš ud anāgīh ī x^{v}ēš dāmān sagrīh nēst. (50) ud hamēšagīhā andar kunišn ud rāyēnišn dāred. (51) ud bun ud meyān ud frazām framānīhā ī dahed abar ēstādan nē šāyed.

(52) ayāb ōy kē gōbed kū : ōy yazd ī hamēšag x^{v}adāy ī vispdānāg ud visptuvān ; (53) kē-š x^{v}adāyīh ud dānāgīh ud tuvānīgīh hamēšag akanāragzamān[12] ; (54) u-š nēkīh ī vehīh aziš ; (55) u-š kunišn cimīgīhā, framān sūdumandīhā ; (56) abar x^{v}ēš bannagān x^{v}ābar ud abaxšīdār ; (57) ud ōy ī pērōzīhburdār bannag purpādāšnēnīdār ; (58) abar ōy ī vināhgār kē x^{v}ēš vināhīh rāy dastgravīg ī dušmen baved, ped vizārdan-vināhīh, ud šustan az bazagīh ud rīmanīh āmurzīdār ; (59) abdum ēc veh dām andar dastgravīgīh[13] ī dušmenān nē hištār ; (60) u-šān andar ardīg ud kuxšišn ī abāg dušmenān ped tan ud gyān pādār ud dāštār ud parvardār ; (61) ud šahriyārīh ī x^{v}ēš az hamemāl ī judgōhr purpāsebānēnīdār ; (62) u-š gund ud spāh ped kuxšišn ud ardīg pērōzgar baved ; (63) ped frazām, pērōzīhburdār ī x^{v}ēš dām az harvisp bazagīh.

(64) ud ka ō rōšnīh ud dānāgīh ud vēnāgīh ud zīndagīh ud drustīh ud abārīg yazdīg dahišn nigerīhed kū abar tārīkīh ud adānīh ud kōrīh ud margīh ud vēmārīh ud abārīg dēvīg jadagān[14] purpādyāvand ud abzōnīg. (65) cē ēn āšnāg kū rōšnīh spōzāg ast ī hamāg tārīkīh ; (66) ud dānāgīh abar adānīh pērōz ; (67) ud zīndagīh abar margīh ōzumand ud abzōnīg. (68) cē ōzumandīh ud abzōnīgīh ī zīndagīh rāy amarravišnīh ī dām az do mardōm

[11] . sarmaṇdihā : paryantamattayā. West : ‘finally’ ; Menasce : ‘d’une façon définitive’. But cf. Fars.-Arab. sarmad ‘perpetual’ < Pers. sarumand.

[12] . akanāraajamąṇī JJ, akanāraajamąṇ JE.

[13] . dast grōhī : hastagrāhe.

[14] . gadašni : cancalatve.

baved. (69) amaragān-z pediš xustōgīh. (70) ēdōn-z vēnāgīh ud drustīh abar kōrīh ud vēmārīh cand pērōzīh ud ōzumandīh pēdāg.

(71) ēn-z nigerīdan sazed kū : hamēstār druz cē x^{v}āhed, spāh ī yazd abar cē kuxšend ? (72) ōy ī hamēstār ēn x^{v}āhed kū : « ēn zamīg ud asmān ud dāmān ud[15] rōšnān anast kunum, (73) ayāb ō x^{v}ēšīh barum, az x^{v}ēš gōhr vardēnum, (74) kū mā yazd ristāxēz ud frašegird kirdan ud dām ī x^{v}ēš abāz ārāstan tuvān bād ! » (75) spāh ī yazd abar ēn kuxšend kū ōy ī hamēstār ped abāyist ud kāmag mā jahād. (76) ēn-z kū : spāh ī ohrmazd az bun dahišn ōrōn[16] ped kuxšišn cēr ud ped kām pērōz.

(77) az ē pēdāg kū : yazd[17] ēn zamīg ud asmān brihēnīd, (78) kū-š hamāg dām ud dahišn anast kirdan tuvān, bē ēk-iz x^{v}ārtandum dām ī yazd anast kirdan atuvānīg. (79) cē agar-z ped vahān ī margīh tan az gyān judāgīhed nē anastīh ud vaštagīh ī gōhr az x^{v}adīh, bē vihirišn[18] ī jadagān[19] ud vihēzišn[20] ī az gyāg ō gyāg, az kār ō kār. (80) enyā tan ud gyān gōhr, harv ēk ped x^{v}ēš gōhrīgīh abāz ō anī x^{v}ēškārīh ēstādan, cōn pēdāg. (81) ud ēn dām ud dahišn purravāgīhā, hamēšakkārīhā dā hangām ī abāyišnīg sūdumandīhā astīh, pēdāg.

(82) dā ēdar abar ēn dar bavandag sahist.

[15] . i.
[16] . hurṇ JJ, hrṇ JE : eva.
[17] . hast : asti.
[18] . nyārašni : kṣīṇatvaṁ. West : nihārašni ‘extinction’ ; Menasce : niyārišn ‘dissolution’.
[19] . gadašni : lolatāyāḥ. Cf. Dk iii, M 161 nirōg ī gōhr ud vihirišn ī jadagān.
[20] . nyāžašni : ūnavaṁ. Menasce : vixāzišn ‘changement’.

aštum darag

13

(2) *did abar*[1] *hambasānīh ud zīfāngōbišnīh ī nax^{v}istēn nibēg,* (2) *ī-š āzād*[2] *x^{v}ānend* ; (3) *u-š hāmōyēn pediš hamdādestān hend kū, yazd ped x^{v}ēš dast nibišt, ō mūše dād*. (4) *kū cōn purērang az harv dušīh, ud az vas ī-š andar nihang-ē āgāhīh ī ašmā rāy ēdar pēdāgēnam.*

(5) gōbed ped bun ī nibēg[3] (6) kū : fradum būd zamīg ī boh ud toh[4] ud tārīkīh ud āb ī syāh. (7) ud vaxš ī yazd abar rōy[5] ī hān āb ī syāh hamē vihēzed[6]. (8) pas yazd guft kū[7] : bād rōšnīh ! (9) ud būd rōšnīh. (10) u-š abēr nēkōg[8] sahist hān rōšnīh. (11) u-š vizārd rōšnīh ō rōz, ud tārīkīh ō šab. (12) u-š ped šaš rōz āfrīd ēn

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[1] . JJ aṇdar.

[2] . āžāṯ : svatantra 'free, independent'. West: āzād 'holy' i.e. the Old Testament, Menasce: āzāt ("āzāt: 'libre, noble' est sans doute une fausse lecture; on peut songer à tōrāt/ ar. taurāt ou, plus probablement à ōraitāk 'loi'/aram. ōraitā comme en Dk M 253"), Neusner: AWAT ("Since the word AWAT, according to the context, must refer to the book of Genesis only, and to a Hebrew or an Aramaic name 'called by them', perhaps the Jews of Babylonia called the Book of Genesis ʾBHTʾ, Hebrew HʾBWT on the basis of Babylonian Talmud ʿAvodah Zarah 25a." S. Lieberman, see Neusner, 1966, 414), G. Itō: azād '(Book of) Derivation', Shaked: āwād 'generation', Perikhanian: 'having come down through transmission/ tradition', i.e., Torah.

[3] . pa bun i niβə̄ : mūlāgamena.

[4] . āβxūn u tạn : payorudhirā vistīrṇā. West: afām va tahān 'without form and void', Menasce: āp-xūn 'tohu-bohu', Neusner: tan 'unformed substance'.

[5] . rōṯ : hrada.

[6] . nyāβəṯ :paśyati. West: niyāzēδ 'yearns', Bailey: nyāβeδ 'had desire', Menasce: (also Schlerath) niwāzet (niwāz- 'souffler').

[7] . u : yat.

[8] . ažə̄r nigōnaa: adho'dhomukhaḥ.

gēhān ud asmān ud zamīg. (13) cē andar haftum rōz haspīn ud āsān būd.

(14) ped hān ham rāz, nūn-z jehūdān rōz ī šambad[9] haspīnumand[10].

(15) ēn-z kū-š ādam ud zan ī x^{v}ad havā āfrīd, (16) andar bāvestān-ē ī vahišt kird (17) kū ādam andar hān bavestān varz kunād ud pās[11] pāyād.

(18) ādōn[12] ī x^{v}ad yazd ast ō ādam framūd (19) kū : az harvisp[13] draxt ī andar ēn bāvestān x^{v}ar, bē az hān draxt ī dānišn ! (20) cē ka-š aziš x^{v}ared mīred.

(21) u-š pas mār-ē andar bāvestān kird. (22) hān mār havā frēft, ud guft kū : az ēn draxt cin x^{v}aram ud ō ādam daham !

(23) u-š hamgōnag kird. (24) ādam ham cōn x^{v}ard, (25) dānišn ōn būd ī-š vizārd nēk az vad, ud nē murd hend. (26) u-š dīd ud dānist kū brahnag ast. (27) azēr draxt nihān būd. (28) u-š varg ī draxt abar x^{v}ēš tan nihuft šarm ī brahnagīh rāy.

(29) pas ādōn ō bāvestān šud ud ādam ped nām $x^{v}$and kū : kū hē ?

(30) ādam pāsox kird kū : $^{\times}$an[14] ham azēr draxt, ē rāy cē brahnag ham.

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9 . šuṇbaṯ : śanaiścarīye.

10 . aspīmaṇd : viśrāmi. Menasce: xupīkōmand 'chômé'.

11 . pāš : praharaka.

12 . ādīnō : ādīnaḥ.

13 . haravist.

14 . īṇ.

(31) ādōn xēšm grift[15]. (32) guft kū: kē āgāhēnīd hē kū brahnag hē? (33) mā agar-it az hān draxt ī dānišn ī-m guft kū “mā x^{v}ared” x^{v}ard?

(34) ādam guft kū: ēn zan ī-t ō man dād, frēft ham u-m x^{v}ard.

(35) ud ādōn ō havā pursīd kū: -t cim ēdōn kird?

(36) havā guft kū: ēn mār frēft ham.

(37) u-š ādam ud havā ud mār harv si ped nifrīn az vahišt bāvestān bērōn kird hend. (38) u-š ō ādam guft kū: -t x^{v}arišn ped ustarišn ī x^{v}ēy ud damišn ī vēnīg bād (39) dā frazām ī-t zīndagīh! (40) u-t zamīg hamāg xār[16] ud kirm ud mār[17] rōyād!

(41) u-š ō havā guft kū: -t ābustanīh ped dard ud dušvār, u-t zāyišn ped grān avištābišn bād!

(42) u-š ō mār guft kū az meyān cahārbāyān ud dadān ī daštīg ud kōfīg nifrīdag bāš! (43) u-t pāy mā bād! (44) u-t ravišn ped eškamb ud x^{v}arišn xāk bād! (45) ud meyān frazendān ī tō abāg zan kēn ud dušmenyādīh[18] ōn bād kū avēšān frazendān sar gazend.

(46) ēn-z gōbend kū: -š ēn gētīg abāg harv cē andar, harv tis, mardōmān rāy kird ud dād. (47) u-š mardōm abar hamāg dām ud dahišn, x^{v}ēd ud hušk, pādixšā kird.

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15 . kard.

16 . hihir : mūtra. Neryōsang has read it سوىلر /hixr/. West: ‘refuse’, Menasce: ‘ordure’.

17 . kīmār :purīṣa. West: dumāl ‘dung’, or simār ‘fennel, weeds’, Menasce: kīmār ‘épines’.

18 . dušmangaštī : duṣṭaṃ mānasatavaṃ.

(48) nūn gōbem nihang-ē abar andarg ī-šān drāyišn ud zīfānīh ī-šān gōbišn (49) kū:

hān zamīg ī boh ud toh ud tārīkīh ud yazd u-š vaxš ud āb ī syāh kū ud ped kadām vimand būd? (50) ayāb x^{v}ad yazd cē-ēvēnag būd? (51) pēdāg kū, nē rōšn būd. (52) cē, ka-š rōšnīh dīd, (53) hān rāy kū-š [19]nē dīd ēstād nēkōg[20] sahist. (54) agar gōbend kū "tārīk būd", ā pēdāg kū tārīkīh bun ud nāf nē[21] rōšn ast. (55) agar gōbend kū "nē tārīk, bē rōšn būd", (56) ā ka x^{v}ad rōšn būd, cim ka-š rōšnīh dīd škeft sahist? (57) ud agar gōbend kū "nē rōšn būd, nē tārīk", (58) ā-šān sidīgar pēdāgēnīdan abāyed ī nē rōšn ud nē tārīk.

(59) enyā: hān kē-š gāh ud mānišn andar tārīkīh ud āb ī syāh būd, u-š hamēšag rōšnīh nē dīd ēstād, ā-š rōšnīh dīdan cōn tuvānist? (60) u-š yazdīh az cē? (61) cē nūn-z harv kē andar tārīkīh māned, ā-š rōšnīh dīdan nē tuvān. (62) ēn-z kū: agar-š bun ud mānišn tārīkīh būd, ā-š pedīrag rōšnīh ēstādan cōn tuvānist? (63) cē ēn āšnāg kū tārīkīh pedīrag rōšnīh ēstādan nē tuvān, cē-š spōzed ud ānāmed[22].

(64) did ēn kū hān zamīg ī boh ud toh kanāragumand būd ayāb akanārag? (65) agar kanāragumand būd, ā-š bērōn aziš cē būd? (66) agar akanārag būd, ā-š akanāragīh ō kū šud? (67) ka cōn hamē vēnam ēn zamīg ud gētīg nē hān ī nax^{v}istēn ast.

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[19] . kiš JJ, kaš JE.

[20] . nigōnaa : adhomukhaṃ.

[21] . bun vāžfrāi : mūlaṃ vacaḥ šikṣāpanāyāḥ. West: vāz parās 'uttering a word', Menasce: bun vāž-āfrā, Neusner: važ-afra 'give brith, cause to emanate'.

[22] . avanāmət̰ : pracchādayateca.

(68) hān ī ādōn guft (69) kū “bād rōšnīh”, ud būd, (70) pas dānistan sazed kū ādōn pēš az hān kū rōšnīh būd. (71) ka-š rōšnīh hamē kāmist kirdan, u-š framān ī ped bē būdan dād, pas <ped> menišn handēšīd kū “rōšnīh cē-ēvēnag, huzihr baved ayāb dušcihr?” (72) ud agar-š rōšnīh, ped x^{v}ēš cōnīh, andar dānišn ud handēšišn ī ādōn ayāft, hān pēdāg kū, rōšnīh hamē būd, ham andar dānišn ud menišn ī ādōn, (73) ud ham bērōn aziš. (74) cē ēc tis nē šāyed dānistan ud ayāftan[23] bē astīh pēdāgīh. (75) agar rōšnīh hamē būd, hān $^{\times}$nē[24] āfrīdag ī ādōn ast. (76) ud agar gōbend kū “rōšnīh ped x^{v}ēš cōnīh andar dānišn nē būd”, ā-š rōšnīh x^{v}āst ī-š nē dānist kū cē-ēvēnag, abēr adānišnīhā. (77) ayāb cōn šāyed hān ī-š hagriz nē menīd ud dānist, ped menišn handēšīdan?

(78) ud ēn-z kū: hān framān ī ped būdan ī rōšnīh ō tis dād ayāb ō atis? (79) cē ēn ēvar kū framān ō framāngar šāyed dādan. (80) agariš ō astīh-ē dād ī rōšn, ā rōšn x^{v}ad būd. (81) ud agar-š framān ō nēstīh dād, ēg nēstīh framān ī ādōn cōn ašnūd? (82) ayāb-iš cōn dānist kū: ādōn ēdōn kāmag kū rōšn bavam? (83) cē nēst framān ī ādōn ham ōn nē šnūd cōn ka-š nē dād. (84) cē nēst ped ēc ēvēnag menīdan nē šāyed. (85) hān ī nēst brihēnīd kū nēst[25], bē ast ī dānāg pēšvēn būd kē-š dānist kū: ādōn cē-ēvēnag hamē x^{v}āhed kū bavam, ped hān ēvēnag ī-š x^{v}āst būd! (86) agar gōbend kū “rōšnīh az gōbišn ī ādōn būd ī-š guft kū ‘bāš!’ ud būd”, (87) ā ka ādōn, u-š x^{v}adīh, tārīk būd, u-š hagriz rōšnīh nē dīd ēstād, ā rōšnīh az gōbišn cē-ēvēnag šāyed būdan? (88) cē ēn āšnāg kū: gōbišn zāyišn menišn ast. (89) agar gōbend kū-š gōbišn rōšn būd, ā abēr škeft. cē pas rōšnīh bar ī tārīkīh, ud

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[23] . Cf. MX 13.3 ayāftan ud dānistan.
[24] . rā.
[25] . nəst : ʾsattā.

tārīkīh tōhmag; u-š rōšnīh daxšag. ayāb ēn kū: rōšnīh andar tārīkīh nihuftag būd. (90) cōn-um guft kū: framān bē framāngar dādan nē šāyed, pēdāg (91) kū: ahī[26] rōšnīh būd, pas framān sazist dād.

(92) did ēn kū: -š ēn dām ud dahišn, ud asmān ud zamīg cē-š ped šaš rōz virāst ud dād, (93) haftum haspīd aziš, (94) ēg ka-š ēn gēhān nē az tis dād bēš ēvāz az framān būd kū "bāš!" ud būd, (95) ā-š šaš rōz dagrandīh az cē? (96) cē kē-š ranz ēvāz and baved cand bē bāš ped guftan, hān šaš rōz dagrandīh būd vas dušmānāg. (97) u-š ranz aziš nē sazed būdan. (98) agar nēst ast kirdan šāyed, ˣā[27] tuvānīg abēdagrand-iz[28] dādan šāyed. (99) ud agar bē ped rōz zamān dādan atuvānīg, ā-š az nēst dād gufan nē sazed.

(100) ud did ēn kū: ka ušmār ī rōzān az xᵛaršēd dānīhed, ēg pēš az āfrīdan ī xᵛaršēd rōz mar, nām-iz ī rōzān az cē dānīhed. (101) cē gōbend kū: -š xᵛaršēd rōz ī cahārum, ī xᵛad cahāršambad, dād. (102) ēn-z kū: -š rōz ī haftum āsān haspīn az cē abāyist kirdan, (103) ka-š ped āfrīdan ud dādan ī gēhān dagrand ud ranz and būd cand guft kū "bāš!". (104) ā-š rōz cōn ušmārīhed kū-š haspīn abāyist kirdan kē-š ranz ōgārīhed. (105) cē agar-š bē bāš ped ham zamān guft, ā-š rōz ī āsān ham zamān sazed būdan.

(106) did ēn kū: -š ādam abāg havā cē cim ud vahān rāy dād? (107) kū dā-š kām varzend? ā-š cim ōn nē dād kū-š az kāmišngarīh nē vardānd? (108) cē ka-š pēš az kunišn dānist kū-š

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[26]. haē : tatkālaṃ. Menasce: *ēn.
[27]. u
[28]. aβāž dəraṇgica.

framānnuiyūš nē bend, u-š abdum dād, ā-š nūn āhīd[29] būdan ud xēšm abar-šān griftan abēcim. (109) cē pēdāg kū x^vad ādōn purravāg nē būd ī-š x^vēš kām kāmagumand, ud ō x^vēš kām hamēstār ud pedyārag, pēdāg. (110) agar-š pēš az kunišn nē šnāxt hend, u-š nē-z dānist kū framān ī ōy nē niyūšend, pas adān ud vadšnās ast. (111) agar gōbend kū-š x^vad kām ped nē kirdan būd, ā-š pas framān ī ped kirdan cim dād? (112) u-š ped nē kirdan cē vināh? ud cōn raved (113) asp-ē kē-š ped rah[30] ham-āyōzend, u-š ped tāzānag[31] avištābend?

(114) az ēn gōbišn nišān ud daxšag ī frēftārān pēdāgīhed, (115) kē-šān kām ud framān ēk ō did hambasān ud asāxtār. (116) ud agar-š kām ud abāyist ēn būd kū-š az kām nē vardend, (117) nūn zōr ud abāyist ī avēšān ped vaštan ī az kām ī ōy vas ōzumanttar ud pādyāvanttar kū hān ī ped nē vaštan. (118) agar-š kām pešān vaštan ī az ōy kām, ud dānišn-z pediš būd, u-š framān ped nē vaštan dād, nūn mustumand ādam <ud havā> cōn tuvānist kū nē vardend? (119) u-š bunēšt-iz[32] ( )[33] nē sazed būdan. (120) cē-š ped vaštan ī az ōy framān ēvāz[34] framān druzīd[35]; ped nē vaštan kām ud dānišn-z harv do druzīg baved.

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[29] . xāhīṯ : vilakṣita.

[30] . raγ : rašanābhareṇa (Jamasp-Asana : JJ has रग्ना, and JE रंग्ना, for रश्ना instead of रशना). West : lag ‘confinement’, Menasce : rasan ‘corde’.

[31] . tāβąnaa : carmmalatayā.

[32] . bun dāštaca : mūlasṛṣṭiśca. West : ‘the origin and maintenance’. Menasce : « Le passage est obscure ; je traduis comme s’il y avait bunyaštaca. »

[33] . kām JE, kam JJ. Skt. om.

[34] . əβāž pa

[35] . drūžəṯ.

(121) did ēn kū: -š hān bāvestān vīrāst, cim rāy ud cē sūd rāy dād? (122) ud x^{v}ad draxt ī dānišn ī-š framūd kū “mā x^{v}ared”, u-š handarz-iz ī ped nē x^{v}ardan kird, ā-š āfrīdan cim abāyist? (123) u-š az handarz ud framān pēdāg kū-š kamdānišnīh ud adānīh dōšīdagdar; (124) ud kāmag ī pediš vēš kū dānišn ud dānāgīh. (125) u-š sūd-iz az adānīh vēš būd. (126) cē dā-šān <az> draxt ī dānišn nē x^{v}ard ēstād, adān būd hend, ud andar ōy aburdframān<īh> ud anēkīh nē. (127) hamcōn-šān dānišn būd, andar-š aburdframān būd hend, (128) u-š az adānīh ī avēšān tēmār-ē nē būd, hamcōn-šān dānišn būd, (129) abar-šān āhīd ud xēšmēn būd. (130) u-š ped grān ax^{v}ārīh ud anāzarmīh az vahišt bērōn kird, ō zamīg abgand hend. (131) hangird ēn kū: ēn dānišn zāyišn ī mardōmān andar gētīg vahān az mār frēftārīh būd. (132) ēn-z gōbend kū: hāmōyēn tis mardōm rāy āfrīd, kē rāy pēdāg kū-š hān draxt-iz mardōm rāy āfrīd. (133) ud mardōm ped harv dām ud dahišn pādixšā kird. (134) ā agar hamgōnag nūn az hān draxt, ī-šān x^{v}ēš, būd kāmag, vizūdan cim?

(135) az ēn gōbišn ēn-z pēdāg kū:-š hambun-z dānišn nē būd. cē agar frāz ō bāvestān mad, u-š vāng kird ud ādam ped nām x^{v}and kū “kū hē?”, ōn cōn ka-š kū-gyāg-astīh anāgāh būd. (137) agar-š apāsox būd hē, kū-gyāg-astīh ī ādam anāgāh būd <hē>. (138) agar-š nihang-iz[36] pēšvēnišn nē būd kū-š az hān draxt x^{v}ard ayāb nē, ēn-z kū kē ud cōn ud kay[37] x^{v}ard, ud kē frēft, anāgāh būd. (139) agar āgāh būd, ā-š mā hagriz tō az hān draxt ī-m framūd kū mā x^{v}ared x^{v}ard pursišn kirdan cim? (140) ud ped nax^{v}ist ka frāz mad nē āhīd būd, pas ka-š dānist kū x^{v}ard, abar-šān āhīd (būd) ud xēšmēn būd. (141) u-š kamdānišnīh-iz az ēn ka: mār ī-š x^{v}ad pedyārag āfrīd ud abāg avēšān ō bāvestān kird,

[36] . vạgica : śabdaḥ. Menasce : ‘et s’il n’eût pas élevé la voix’.
[37] . kə

(142) ayāb-iš cim bāvestān ōn drubušt nē kird kū-š mār ud anīz dušmen pediš andar nē šavād? (143) u-š drōzanīh-iz az ē pēdāg ka-š guft kū: ka az ēn draxt x^{v}ared mīred, u-šān x^{v}ard ud nē murd hend bē dānišnumand-iz būd hend. (144) u-šān nēk az vad uzvārd. (145) ēn-z kū-š cōn hambasān hambidīg dānišn abāg kām ud framān. (146) cē agar-š kāmist x^{v}ardan az hān draxt, u-š framān ped nē x^{v}ardan dād, dānišn ī pediš būd kū x^{v}ard, (147) nūn pēdāg kū, harv si ēk ō did hambasān: kām ud dānišn ud framān.

(148) ēn-z kū: ka ādam vināh kird, nifrīn ī-š kird, abar hāmōyēn mardōm ī āvām āvām rased, adādīhā. (149) ped harv ēvēnag ī uskāram, abēuš ud adān ud halaggōbišn.

(150) ped ēn dar, dagrandīh rāy, ēn and bavandag sahist.

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(1) u-m kām kū nihang-ē az ham hambasānīh ud purērangīh ī ham nibēg nibēsam[1], (2) *kū purr az harv bazagīh ud dēvīh, ud az hazār ēk ī aziš pēdāg hangirdīg-ē nigēzam*. (3) *pediš framāyed*[2] *nigerīdan:*

(4) nax^{v}ist ēn ī gōbed abar x^{v}ēš cōnīh (5) kū: an ham ādōn kēnx^{v}āh (6) ud kēntōz (7) ud kēn ī haft āvādag[3] ped frazendān tōzam. (8) u-m bun kēn nē framōšam[4].

(9) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: āyiftag[5]-xēšm ud grānmenišn. (10) u-š lab purrzahr, (11) ud uzvān cōn ātaš ī sōzāg, (12) ud vaxš cōn rōd ī arang veh[6]. (13) u-š vāng ō γarrānāg[7] humānāg – hān ī dēv vāng-iš humānāgdar. (14) u-š nišast[8] andar tam[9] ud nazm[10]

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[1] . naβaštom : saṃlikhāmi.
[2] . farmāyast : samādiṣṭaṃ.
[3] . haftaṇbādaa : सप्तात्वयीयं JJ, सप्तात्वेयीयं JE. (Jamasp-Asana : saptatvaiyatyaṃ)
[4] . farmōšəṯ
[5] . ayāftaa : abhīpsitaḥ. Cf. Dk iii, M 350 az xēšmenīgīh varan āyift akamangārīh.
[6] . arōvīnā : saratpravāhaḥ. West : arvand nā 'rapid water', Menasce : āravēnāk 'débordant'. Cf. Dk iii, M 394 سلوه ا وس /arang ud veh/. Another possible reading : arvand-nāy(dāg) 'swift and navigable'.
[7] . grīnā : ākranda 'crying, weeping'. West: 'causing weeping', Neusner: 'weeping', Menasce: grīnāk 'tonnerre'.
[8] . nišastan
[9] . gūam : tamas.
[10] . vazm : dhūmalatva.

ud abr (15) u-š bārag vād ī hōšēnāg. (16) u-š az ravišn ī pāy xāk gard āxēzed. (17) ka raved, ā-š az pasī āxēz ī ādur.

(18) ud anī abar xēšmenīh ī x^{v}ēš gōbed (19) kū: cahal sāl abar īsrāēlān[11] ped xēšm būd ham. (20) u-š guft kū: vīftag-dil hend īsrāēlān!

(21) anī gōbed kū: kē ast kōr[12] bē agar bannag ī man? (22) kē karrag[13] bē frēstag ī hamē brihēnam? (23) kē ast kōr cōn pādišā? –pēdāg kū pādišā ī avēšān x^{v}ad ādōn.

(24) anī ēn-z gōbed kū: -š peristagān ī ātaš vīftag hend.

(25) ēn-z kū: -š kunišn dūd ud x^{v}arg[14] bared, (26) ud kuxšišn xūnrēzišnīh.

(27) ēn-z kū: mardōm ēk abar did sārēnam, (28) ud abar asmān nišīyam ud abar-šān xannam[15].

(29) ēn-z kū: -š ped ēk šab sad-ud-šast-hazār az gund ud spāh ī māzandarīgān ped vad marg ōzad. (30) ud anī jār-ē šaš-sad-hazār mard zad, az zan ud rēdak ī aburnāy az īsrāēlān andar viyābān ōzad, (31) bē do mard ī bē rast hend.

(32) did nimāyed kū-š frazāmgārīh hamāg pašīmānīh. (33) cōn ēn ī gōbed kū “zarīgāvand[16] būd”, u-š guft kū: pašīmān ham ped kirdan ī mardōmān ped zamīg.

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[11] . asarāsarą : asarāsareṣu.
[12] . xōr : daridrī.
[13] . xarg : ṛddhaḥ.
[14] . xurg : angārakān.
[15] . aṇdąm : aṅga. Menasce: xanąm.

(34) ēn-z gōbed kū: abar taxt nišīyed kē cahār frēstag abar parrag[17] dārend, kē-šān az sang bāl[18] harv ēk rōd-ē ī ātašīg aziš hamē raved.

(35) nūn ka ōy mēnōg ast nē tanēgird, ēgiš hān cahār mustumand ī x^{v}ār ī gilagōbār[19] ped ranz dāštan cim?

(36) did ēn kū: harv rōz, ped x^{v}ēš dast, navad-hazār frēsatg vīrāyed, u-š dā šabāgāh hamē peristend. u-šān pas ped rōd-ē ī ātašīg ō dušox hiled. (37) ka dīd must ud abēdādīh ī ped ēn ēvēnag, ped kār ud kirbag ud hukunišnīh gētīgān būdan cōn sazed? (38) ka ōy ī mustumand frēstag ī tasagāh ī framānniyūš ī abēzakkunišn jumā abārīg vināhgārān ō dušox ī jāyēdānag abganed, (39) cōn hān-z ī anī grōh-ē gobend kū: yazd rōz ī ristāxēz x^{v}aršēd ud māh jumā abārīg vināhgārān ō dušox dahed, ped hān cim kū ast mardōm kē-šān namāz aviš burd.

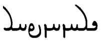
(40) anī gyāg ēn-z gōbed kū: ka mahādar abrāhīm, ī dōst ī ādōn, cašm dardīhist, ā-š x^{v}ad ādōn ō pursišn mad. (41) u-š bālēn nišast, ud drod pursīd. (42) ud abrāhīm īshāg[20], ī-š dōšist pus, ped nihān $x^{v}$and[21] ud guft (43) kū: ō vahišt šav ud may ī x^{v}ār ud pāk[22] āvar!

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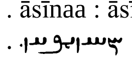
[16] . zarīgą aṇdā : jarīgāḥ yāvat. West: zardakān andā, Menasce: zarīkīn tāk.

[17] . farī : skandhe. Menasce: parīk 'aile'.

[18] . bār : bhāra. West: bār 'load', Menasce: 'poids'.

[19] . garą bār : mahābhāraḥ. Cf. Dk vi, M 579  /gilagōbār/.

[20] . āsīnaa : āsīnakaṃ.

[21] . 

[22] . mae i x^{v}ār u pāk : madhuṃ laghutaraṃ pavitrataraṃ ca. (may ud x^{v}ār ī pāk? Cf. Pap. 80 x^{v}ār ud bār ud may.)

(44) šud u-š āvurd. (45) ud abrāhīm vas x^{v}āhišn ō ādōn kird (46) kū: andar mān ī man may jō[23] x^{v}ār!

(47) ādōn guft kū: nē x^{v}āram, cē nē az vahišt, ud nē pāk.

(48) pas abrāhīm gugāyīh dād kū: pāk. hān may az vahišt īshāg ī-m pus āvurd.

(49) pas ādōn abēgumānīh ī-š ped īshāg ud gugāyīh ī ped abrāhīm may jō x^{v}ārd. (50) pas ka-š raftan kāmist, nē hišt dā-š ped sōgand ī grān ēk ō[24] did x^{v}ard.

(51) nigered ō ēn purērang drāyišn ī ēk-iz ped ēk-iz[25] nē pessazag. (52) cōn[26] āmadan ī-š ped tanumandīh ō mān ī abrāhīm, ud nān x^{v}arišn, ud may x^{v}ārišn, ī-š ēk-iz aviš nē pessazag. (53) ēn-z aziš pēdāg kū, hān dard ī abrāhīm nē az ādōn būd, bē az anī kirdār. (54) u-š bēnīh-iz[27] ī az dānišn ud abēušīh ōn būd kū-š pākīh ud az-kūīh ī may nē dānist. (55) u-š drōzanīh-iz ēn ka-š nē-xvārišnīh ī may guft ud abdum xvārd. (56) pas xustōgīhed[28] kū, abēzag ud pāk ast. (57) nūn ōy kē-š ēn cōnīh, ped yazdīh ī harvispāgāh ī visptuvān peristīdan cōn sazed?

(58) ud anī gyāg gōbed kū: būd ēk az vēmārān kē abāg x^{v}ēš zan ud frazend abēr acārag[29] ud driyuš abēbahr būd. (59) hamvār

[23] . še : kṣaṇena. Cf. DA 45 jō hur ud may.
[24] . i
[25] . yakica : iajade.
[26] . pa cuṇ
[27] . bavąnīca: vaikalyaṃ ca. (Jamasp-Asana : S indictaes [illegible]; possibly [illegible]) Menasce : bavanīh ‘existence, état’. But cf. Parth. bēn ‘external’.
[28] . xustuhət̰
[29] . āžāraa : duḥkhito. West : ‘suffering’, Menasce: āzārak ‘blessé’.

ped namāz ud rōzag ud peristišn ī yazd abēr toxšāg ud kirdār būd. (60) u-š ē rōz andar namāz ud rāz[30] āyaft[31] x^{v}āst kū: man frāxīh-ē[32] ī ped rōzīg dah (61) ī-m zīvistan āsāndar bavād!

(62) u-š frēstag-ē abar frōd āmad, ud guft kū: -t rōzīg az ēn vēš ped axtar, yazd nē baxt ēsted, ud az nōg baxtan nē šāyed. (64) bē-m tō rāy ped pādāšn ī peristišn ud[33] namāz taxt-ē kē-š cahārpāy az gōhr andar vahišt dād ēsted. (65) agar abāyed dā-t az hān taxt ēk pāy daham.

(66) hān peygāmbar āfrāh az hān ī x^{v}ēš zan x^{v}āst. (67) zyānak guft kū: -mān ped kam rōzīg ud vad zīvišn ī ped gētīg hunsand būdan veh (68) kū agar-mān ped vahišt meyān hamālān[34] taxt si-pāy. (69) bē agar-t šāyed, ēg-imān rōzīg-ē az anī dar framāy!

(70) did hān frēstag āmad ud[35] guft kū: bē agar spihr višōbam, ud asmān ud zamīg az nōg daham, ud ravišn ī starān az nōg pesāzam ud daham, az hān frāz nē pēdāg kū-t baxt veh ōftād ayāb vattar.

(71) az ēn soxan ōn pēdāg kū nē x^{v}ad ōy ast baxtār ī rōzīg; ud brīn (72) ud baxšišn nē ped kām ī ōy, ud baxt vardēnīdan nē tuvān. (73) ud gardišn ī spihr ud x^{v}ar ud māh ud stāragān nē andar parvastag ī dānišn ud kām ud framān ī ōy. (74) ēn-z kū:

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[30] . rāž : guptam. Menasce lāf ‘lamentation’. But cf. Pers. راز و نیاز کردن ‘to bill and coo’.

[31] . ayāft : abhīpsita. Menasce: āhast (āhastan ‘lever’).

[32] . frōxī : samṛddhatva. Menasce : frax^{v}īh ‘satisfaction, bénéfice’.

[33] . i

[34] . hamayārān : sahāyināṃ. Another possible reading: hamayyārān (Pers. ham-ayyār ‘auxiliary ; cooperating’, cf. MX 2.7 andar hamayyārān ērdan).

[35] . āmadan.

taxt ī-š nivēyēnīd[36] kū andar vahišt daham nē az kunišn ud dahišn ī ōy.

(75) ud anī gyāg abar drāyišn ī x^{v}ēš gōbed (76) kū: man jumā ram ī vināhgārān candān amar avināhān ōzad.

(77) ka frēstagān abēcimkunišnīh ī vas guft, ēgiš[37] guft kū: an ham ādōn ī kāmagx^{v}adāy, (78) ud abargar ud anhmabidīg ud kāmgār ud kas nē ayāred abar man drenzišn guftan.

(79) frāyist vas drāyišn ī purērangīhā ī-m nibištan dagrand shaist (80) kē nigīrā ud abāzvašt[38] az ēn gōbišn, hān-š rāy gōbišn ī āzād dastvar-ē bād (81) dā baved āgāh az cōnīh ī ham nibēg ud rāstīh ī hān ī-m guft. (82) nūn agar hān yazd kē-š ēn nišān ud daxšag, ā-š rāstīh aziš dūr, (83) ud abaxšāyišn aziš bēgānag[39], (84) u-š dānāgīh abar nē baxt[40]. (85) cē ēn x^{v}ad ast druz ī dušox sālār ī tār[41] gilistag ī tamtōhmag, (86) kē-š vīftagān ī dēvīg vadagān ped ādōn nām stāyend ud namāz barend.

(87) abar ēn dar dā[42] ēdar bavandag.

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36 . nigə̄inīṯ : niveditaṃ.
37 . aigin vas
38 . aβāždādą :vyastācāraḥ.
39 . bə̄gąnī : bahistaraṃ.
40 . vaxt : vibhaktaṃ.
41 . sār : timira. Menasce tar.
42 . ـر

dahum darag

15

(1) *anī abar hambasānīh ud abēvimand gōbišn ud abēbrahm pehikārišn ī tarsāg grōhān*[1] *x^vazārag nihang pēdāgēnum.* (2) *cē cōn harv se az ēk bun, ī jehūdīh.* (3) *hān ī ka andarg ī ēk guft, ā-šān hāmōyēn hamayyārīhā ērang ī x^vēš.*

(4) ē dāned kū : bun ī kēš ī tarsāgīh az kū bē āmad. (5) kū : andar ūrīšlem deh, az ham jehūdān zan-ē ī ped dušīzagīh[2] āšnāg būd, (6) ābustanīh pediš pēdāgīhist.

(7) ka-šān pursīd kū : -t ēn ābustanīh az kē[3] ?

(8) ōy ped pāsox guft kū: -m gabriyēl[4] frēstag abar āmad, u-š guft kū : az vād ī pāk ābustan hē !

(9) ā ē nigered kū : gabriyēl frēstag, jud az hān zan, kē dīd, kē rāy hān zan <ped> rāst sazed dāštan ?

(10) agar gōbend kū « hān frēstag, mēnōgīgīh rāy, kas dīdan nē tuvān », (11) ā agar vahān ī nē-dīdan ī hān frēstag mēnōgcihrīh ast, ham cim rāy, hān-z zan dīdan nē ādōg.

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[1] . grōišną /vurravišnān/ : prabodhināṁ. Menasce : grōhihān.
[2] . dušāžaī : duščāritayā. West : ‘incapacity’, Hedayat : دوشیزگی, Menasce : dušapākīh ‘mauvaise fréquentation’.
[3] . əž ku : kasmāt.
[4] . spargar : sparagara. Syr. ܓܒܪܐܝܠ.

(12) agar gōbend kū « yazd ō hān zan dīdār kird, arzānīgīh ī hān zan rāy, (13) u-š anī kas arzānīg nē kird », (14) <ā> ēn kū hān zan rāst guft pēdāgīh kū ? (15) ayāb ka-š <ō> hān zan ped rāstīh pēdāg būd, ā-š ō anī kas nimūdan-z sazed, kū-šān hān gugāyīh rāy abērdar ped rāsttar dāšt hē ? (16) u-š nūn ēvāz ō hān zan nimūdan, kas ped rāst nē dāšt. (17) nūn ē nigered cē bun ī-šān dēn hamāg az ēn gugāyīh ī zan-ē bē āmad ī-š abar x^{v}ēš dād.

(18) did kū : agar mašīhā[5] az vād ī pāk ī yazd būd, gōbend, ā agar ēvāz vād ī pāk ī az yazd hān ēk ast, hān ī abārīg vād ī jud az hān, nē az yazd ud nē pāk ; (19) anī āfrīdār pēdāgīhed acārīg. (20) agar vād hamāg az yazd, ud yazdīg ast, hamāg pāk sazed būdan. (21) agar ēvāz hān ēk vād pāk, abārīg vād rīman, nē yazdīg. (22) cōn bē yazd ēc āfrīdār nēst, hān rīmanīh ud nēpākīh ī abārīg vād ham az yazd. (23) ud agar abārīg vād hān ī yazd, ud yazdīg ast, hamāg pāk sazed būdan. (24) nūn hān ēk ped pākīh dāšt, abārīg rīman būd, cim ?

(25) did ēn kū : agar mašīhā pus ī yazd būd, ped hān cim kū yazd pid ī vispān, ped dādārīh ud āfrīdārīh ud parvardārīh, (26) ā mašīhā ped pusarīh ī yazd nē juttar kū x^{v}ārtan[6] dām ī yazd dād ud āfrīd. (27) agar az abzārīh ī narīh māyagīh zād, (28) ā agar yazd zāyišn az narīh ud māyagīh sazed, ā-z abar amehrspendān mēnōgān hamgōnag, zāyišn būdan rāy, margīh-iz būdan sazed. (29) ēdōn abar ham yazd <margīh> būdan nē gumānīg. (30) cē ānōh kū zāyišn ī ped hān ēvēnag, x^{v}arišn ud x^{v}ārišn ud margīh-iz ēvar.

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5 . mašyāe : maśiāka. Syr. ܡܫܝܚܐ.

6 . x^{v}ārtan : laghutarāyāḥ. Jamasp-Asana & West correct it to x^{v}ārtar. Cf 12.38 x^{v}ārtandum.

(31) ud ast kē-z gōbed kū: « mašīhā x^{v}ad yazd ast. » (32) nūn ēn škefttar ka yazd ī vazurg, ī do oxān dāštār ud parvardār, ped cihr ī mardōmīh būd, ō eškamb ī zan-ē jehūd šud. (33) x^{v}adāyīh gāh, asmān, zamīg, spihr, ud abārīg, ham az rāyēnīdārīh ud pānāgīh hišt ud ped nihuftagīh ō rīman ud tang[7] gyāg ōbast, (34) ud abdum x^{v}ēš tan ō zanišn ud dārgirdīh ud dast ī dušmenān abespārd, (35) dā-šān jud az marg vas zēštīh ud anēvēnīh abar ārāst.

(36) agar-š andar eškamb ī zan-ē būd, ped hān cim gōbend kū yazd harv gyāg ast, (37) ā ped harv-gyāg-astīh andar eškamb ī hān zan nē juttar kū rīmandar ud gennagdar gyāg, (38) abāg hān kū hamāg gyāg x^{v}adīh ī yazd būd guftan, zīfānīh[8] vas. (39) cē agar hamgōnag, ā ēc tis ī jud az yazd astīh guftan vaxr[9].

(40) did hān ī gōbend kū: « -š margīh ud dārgirdīh ristāxēz ō mardōmān nimūdan rāy ō grīv[10] pedīrift. » (41) ā agar-š ristāxēz ō mardōmān nimūdan bē ped hān rusvāyīh[11] ud marg ud zēštīh ī x^{v}ēš enyā nē tuvān būd, ā-š visptuvānīh nē pessazag. (42) ayāb ka-š ēc hamemāl ud pedyārag nē būd, ā-š mardōm cim ōn rōšndānišn ud ped ristāxēz vēnāg ud abēgumān nē kird hānd kū-š niyāz ō ēn ēvēnag zēštīhā, rusvāyīhā, vidangīhā, dušmenkāmagīhā nimūdan nē būd hād ?

(43) agar-š hān margīh nōgēvēnagīh <rāy>, ped x^{v}ēš kām, ō grīv pedīrift, (44) ā-š nūn vay ud nifrīn ō ōzanāgān x^{v}andan, avēšān jehūdān ped xēšmenīh dāštan abēcim. (45) nē-z nifrīn ud

[7] . vadaṇg : viṣame.
[8] . zaspąnī : katsitatvaṁ.
[9] . vaxr (x^{v}ahl) : anṛtaṁ.
[10] . ōca ōi. Cf. 10.67.
[11] . rasūnāī : rajjubandhena.

vay abar-šān kirdan, bē-šān ped hān kunišn pādāšnumand sazed būdan.

(46) did ēn ī gōbend kū : « pid ud pus ud vād ī pāk si nām, ī ēk az did nē juttar ; (47) nē pēš ēk. »

(48) ēn-z kū : ka « pus ī nē keh az pid, ped harv dānišn hāvand kū pid », ā nūn ped nām ī jud x^vandan cim ? (49) agar se ēk sazed būdan, ā se būdan nōh, ud nōh se būdan, šāyistan ēvar. (50) abārīg <vas> marag ped ēn pedisār abēvimandīhā šāyed guftan.

(51) ēn-z kū : agar pus nē keh az pid, ā pid-iz az pus nē meh. (52) ā agar pid az pus, ayāb pus nē az pid gōbīhed šāyed. (53) ud ēn ēvar kū harv aziš, az hān ī-š aziš[12], ī x^vad māyag ud tōhmag, keh šāyed būdan, (54) agar ped zamān, agar-z ped peyvann. (55) agar pus nē keh az pid, ā kirdār az kirdag nē pēš, nē-z meh. (56) harv do bunēštag sazed būdan. (57) ud dahišn az dādār nē keh, ud dādār az dahišn nē meh. (58) harv cōn gōbīhed abēvimand.

(59) ēn-z kū : agar pus ped harv dānišn hāvand kū pid, ā pid-iz ōn adān cōn pus kē az marg ud dārgirdīh ī x^vēš anāgāh būd, (60) dā-šān griftan ud ped vad marg ud zēštīh rusvāy kirdan ōzad.

(61) nē dānist ped hān cē-šān aziš pursīd kū : « rōz ī āxēzišn kay ? »

u-š pāsoxēnīd kū : « ēn nē kas āgāh bē pid ! »

(62) cōn ka pus ped nēdānišnīh tāštīg, pid ped ēdōn.

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[12] . vaš.

(63) ēn-z kū : -š hamāg dām ud dahišn, x^{v}ēš-iz pedyārag, az nē-tis āfrīd ud dād, ud ōzanāgān ī-š pus viyābānēnīd hend, (64) agar yazd ōzanāgān ī-š pus, x^{v}ēš-iz pedyārag, abēcim abēvahān[13] x^{v}ad dād, (65) u-šān pus, ped hamdānišnīh ī ōy, ōzad, (66) ā nūn abēgumān šāyed būdan kū, ōzadār ī-š pus x^{v}ad būd. (67) agar-š dānist kū « pus ka brihēnum ēgiš ōzanend » ud abdum brihēnīd halagīhā ud adānīhā. (68) agar-š nē dānist, kamdānišn.

(69) did ēn kū : agar yazd ēn dām ud dahišn az nētis āfrīd, u-š pedyārag-iz az nētis āfrīd ud dād, ā-šān gōhr ēk sazed būdan. (70) nūn cim pedyārag ōn nē būzed cōn abārīg dām ?

[13] . bə̄ vahą̣n : niṣkāraṇaṁ.

yāzdahum darag

15

(71) *anī abar hambasānīh ī-šān gōbišn az dastvar nibēg-išān.*

(72) hān ī gōbed kū: « nē ōfted nē tis az draxt, ud nē baved vāng ped šahr, ud nē do murv āgenīn kuxšend, bē <ped> framān ī pid. »

(73) kē nimūdār ast ēn gōbišn kū "bunēštag ēk", u-š visp ped kām. (74) nūn mašīhā, ī-š pus, ped cē kār brihēnīd, u-š kadām rāh nimūdan ī ōy nē-kām, (75) ka-š vīsp kām, u-š ēc nē-kām nē anād[1]. (76) ēn-z az ham vizār kū jehūdān mašīhā ī-š pus ped kām ī pid ōzad.

(77) did : hambasānīh abar āzādkāmīh ī ōstīgān[2] gōbed (78) kū: « -š mardōm āzādkām dād hend. »

(79) ēdōn, āhōg ī vināh ī mardōm kunend āzādkāmīh ast. (80) u-š āzādkāmīh x^{v}ad ō mardōm dād, (81) ā ham ōy <ped> vināhgār sazed dāštan kē bun vahān ī vināh. (82) agar mardōm vināh ud bazag ped āzādkāmīh ī x^{v}ēš kunend, nē ped kām ī yazd, (83) ā šagr, mār, gurg, gazdum, xrafstar ī gazāg ud ōzanāg, ī cihrīkkunišn, vināh ud bazag ī-šān aziš hamē raved, ped kadām āzādkāmīh ud kē vināh? (84) ēdōn-z zahr ī ōzanāg ī andar bīš ud abārīg urvarsardagān, ī-šān nē az āzādkāmīh vahān, kē bunēšt[3]?

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[1] . oxt : avocat.
[2] . ōstyą : pravīṇataraṁ. /stīan?/
[3] . bun dāšt : mūle dadhau.

(85) agar gōbend kū « hān zahrīhā ped vasān dārūg, ī vēmārān vēmārīh spuxtār, sūdumand abāyišnīg », (86) ā ē pursed kū: x^vad vēmārīh ud zyān ī aziš[4] kē dād, u-š cē abāyišnīgīh (87) kē-š pas ped ōy dārūg ud zahr ī ōzanāg āfrīd ud abāyist? (88) ayāb hān vēmārīh ka-š ō bē burden anōšdārūg dād hē sazāgdar <būd> hē kū zahr dārūg ?

(89) ēn-z kū: x^vad nām “zyāngārīh” az kadām bun kē-š “sūdumandgārīh” pedīrag abāyišnīg?

(90) abar ēn dar vasīhā šāyed guftan. ō hangirdīg handāxt.

[4] . vaš.

dvāzdahum darag

15

(91-92) *anī az gōbišn ī pāulus*[1] *ī-šān dastvar, hān ī-šān ō x^{v}ēšīg bun hambasān.*

ēn-z gōbend (93) kū: « nē kirbag ī kāmum, bē bazag (94) ī nē kāmum, kunum. ud nē an kunum, bē hān kuned ī andar man āvurd ēsted. (96) cē hamē vēnum kū-m rōz ud šab abāg kuxšišnīg. »

(97) did az gōbišn ī mašīhā gōbend kū: « yazd bunēštag rōšnīh ud vehīh, (98) vattarīh ud tārīkīh aziš jud. »

(99) ēn-z kū: « cōn šubān kē-š gōspend sad andar pānāgīh gīred[2], (100) ēk aziš gurgān barend, (101) az pas ī hān ēk šaved ī gurgān burd kū[3] dā-š abāz ō ram nayed. (102) u-š hān navad-u-nōh ped dašt hiled. (103) ōn-z an ō hāxtan[4] ī vīftagān āmad hum, nē ō rāstān. (104) cē ōy ī rāst ō rāh āvurdan abēniyāz. »

(105) ā agar bunēštag ēk, u-š vispān kām, ā kas-iz nē abērāh ud vīftag. (106) gurg-iz gōspend kuštan ham ōy kām. (107) u-š gurg-iz x^{v}ad āfrīd.

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1 . pāvarōš. Syr. ܦܐܘܠܘܣ.

2 . kunəṯ.

3 . burīṯ kuš.

4 . āhixtan : anugrah.

(108) gōbišn ī mašīhā frāyist hambasānīhā abar do bunēšt nimūdār. (109) cōn gōbend az ham gōbišn ī mašīhā ēn ēk kū: «ast anī bunēštag, dušmen ī-m pid. an, ōy yazd kirbakkar hum. »

(110) az ēn gōbišn pēdāg kū x^{v}ēš pid az ōy ī dušmen vizāred ud jud kuned.

(111) ēn-z kū: « yazd ō rāstīh, ud ped rāstīh brihēnīd hum. (112) u-m ahrmen bazakkar ō vidurdan[5] āmad. (113) u-š ped vas ēvēnag frēftan kāmist hum. »

(114) nūn agar bunēštag ēk, u-š ēc hambidīg nēst, ahrmen cim ēdōn tuvānīg kū-š pus ī yazd kāmist viyābānēnīdan? (115) agar x^{v}ad yazd dād hān bazakkar, ēgiš hān viyābānīg kirdan ped dānišn ud kām ī x^{v}ad. (116) viyābāngar-z ī pus ham x^{v}ad.

(117) ēn-z gōbed kū: « ka jehūdān pedīrag pehikār ēstād hend, ā-š ō jehūdān guft kū: ašmā az ōy ī ērdar; ud an az abardar hum. (118) ašmā az ēn šahr hed; an nē aziš hum. »

(119) u-š ēn-z guft kū: « dānum kū ašmā az tōm ī abrāhām hed, hān ī az pēš mardōm ōzad būd; (120) man-z kāmist ōzadan. (121) an hān kunum ī-m <ped> pidar dīd. ašmā hān kuned ī-tān ped x^{v}ēš pidar dīd. »

(122) ēn-z kū: « agar yazd ast hān pid ī ašmā, ā-tān man dōst hād. (123) ē rāy cē, an az yazd uzīd hum, nē az x^{v}ēš kāmišn āmad hum. (124) ōy yazd kirbakkar brihēnīd hum, ā ašmā cē rāy soxan ī man nē niyūšed? (125) bē ē rāy cē az bazakkar hed, ā-tān nē tuvān niyūšīdan, (126) ud kāmag ī x^{v}ēš pidar kāmed

[5] . vadardan. : vyatyaya.

kirdan. (127) ped ōy rāstīh nē anād[6], harv cē gōbed hān drōv gōbed. ē rāy cē drōzan hed, x^{v}ad abāg pidar-tān. (128) an kē rāstīh gōbum, ā-m vābar nē kuned. (129) ud hān ī kē az yazd, soxan ī yazd niyūšed. bē ašmā, ē rāy cē nē az yazd hed, soxan ī man nē niyūšed. »

(130) u-š ped ēn gōbišn hamāg hān nimūd kū: ast do bunēštag, « ēk kē-š an brihēnīd; ēk kē-š jehūdān ». (131) u-š hān nē kirbakkar, bē-š bazakkar $x^{v}$and[7].

(132) u-š ēn-z guft kū: « nē ādōg draxt ī kirbag bar ī bazag, nē hān-z ī bazag bar ī kirbag dādan. »

(133) ēn-z kū: ayāb hamāg draxt abāg bar ī kirbag kuned, ayāb hamāg draxt abāg bar ī bazag kuned. (134) cē harv draxt az bar pēdāg baved, agar kirbag ud agar bazag. (135) u-š hamāg draxt guft, nē nēm draxt. (136) nūn cōn sazed nēm draxt rōšn, ud nēm tār; (137) nēm kirbag ud nēm bazag; (138) nēm rāstīh ud nēm drōzanīh? (139) ka ēn harv do āgenīn hambidīg ēstend, (140) ēk draxt būdan nē šāyend.

(141) u-š did jehūdān mār ī kōfīg jehūdak $x^{v}$and. (142) u-š guft kū: « cōn-tān kirbag tuvān kirdan ka bazakkar jehūdag hed? » (143) u-š nē ō x^{v}ēš pid bazakkar $x^{v}$and.

(144) ēn-z gōbed kū: « harv draxt ī pidar nē kišt, kanīhād ud ō ādur abganīhād! » (145) kē rāy az ēn soxan šāyed dānistan kū ast draxt ī pidar nē kišt, kandan[8] ud abgandan abāyed.

[6] . oxt : ukta.

[7] . x^{v}ānīṯ : ākārayat.

[8] . xadan : khan.

(146) did ēn kū: « ō x^{v}ēšān āmad hum, ud x^{v}ēšān nē pedīrift hum. » (147) kē rāy šāyed dānistan kū x^{v}ēšīh ud ax^{v}ēšīh ast.

(148) ēn-z gōbed kū: « pidar-mān ī ped asmān, a-t bād šahriyārīh, u-t ē bād kām ped zamīg cōn ped asmān. (149) u-mān dah nān ī rōzgārīg, u-mān mā bar ō gumāngarīh. » (150) az ēn gōbišn pēdāg kū-š kām ped zamīg nē ōn abēzag cōn ped asmān.

(151) ēn-z kū: « gumāngarīh ī mardōm nē az yazd. »

(152) u-š ēn-z guft ped nax^{v}ist kū: « nē ped hān āmad hum kū ēvēn ī mūše[9] višōbum, (153) bē ped hān āmad hum kū bavandagdar bē kunum. » (154) u-š hamāg gōbišn ud framān hān kē ō ēvēn ud dād ī mūše višuftār ud hambasān būd.

(155) abar-z ēn dar dā ēdar bavandag.

9 . mūšāe : mūśāka. Syr. ܡܘܫܐ.

sizdahum darag

16

(1) *did nibēsīhed abar ērang ī mānī*[1] *az hazārān bēvarān ēk.* (2) *cē ērang ud drāyišn ud frēb ī mānī ud mānīīgān*[2] *ped-bavandagdar nibištan anādōg ham.* (3) *u-m ranz ī vas ud rōzgār ī dagrand andar abāyed.*

(4) nūn ē dāned, mazdesn[3] ī zardušt, kū : bun gōbišn ī mānī abar akanāragīh ī bunēštagān ; (5) ud meyān abar gumēzišn ; (6) ud frazām abar vizārišn ī rōšn az tār, (7) hān ī ō avizārdārīh vas mānāgdar.

(8) did ēn kū : gētīg tanēgirdīg ī ahrmen ; hāmis (9) tenēgirdīg, dahišn ī ahrmen.

(10) u-š gugān ēn kū : asmān az pōst, (11) ud zamīg az gōšt, (12) ud kōf az ast, (13) ud urvar az vars ī kandag dēv[4]. (14) vārān šuhr ī māzandarān ī ped spihr bast ēstend . (15) ud mardōm dēv ī dobāy. ud gōspend <hān> ī cahārbāy. (16) ud kandag <dēv> spāhsālār ī ahrmen (17) kē-š ped nox[5] fradum ardīg rōšnīh az ohrmazd-bay rubūd ud[6] ōbārd. (18) u-šān ped didum ardīg kandag dēv abāg vasān dēvān grift. (19) ud ast ī ped

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[1] . mānāe : māneya.
[2] . mānāeigān : māneyīya.
[3] . mahəst : mājdaiasna. Menasce : mahest ‘le meilleur’.
[4] . kunī dəβ : kūnīdeva.
[5] . nāxun : nakhaiḥ. West : ‘nails’ ; Menasce : naxun ‘origine’.
[6] . rəβudan : avālikhya. Salemann : tar , Menasce : rēcēt ‘émané’.

spihr bast[7] ; ud kandag dēv ōzad, (20) ēn dām ī vazurg aziš dāšt ud kird.

(21) ud x^{v}aršēd, māh, bērōn asmān ped bālist vinārd ; (22) kū dā hān rōšnīh ī dēvān ōbārd, andak andak, ped ahrāmišn ud pālāyišn ī x^{v}aršēd ud māh pālāyend ud ahrāmēnend. (23) pas ahrmen pēšvēnāgīhā dānist kū ēn rōšnīh, ped x^{v}aršēd ud māh ahrāmišn, zūd pālend ud vizārend. (24) zūd nē vizārišn ī rōšn az tār rāy, ēn gēhān ī kōdak –ī cōn mardōm ud gōspend ud abārīg gyānvar – hampeccēn ud hangōšīdag ī gēhān ī vazurg, abāg abārīg tenēgirdīg dahišn, vīrāst. (25) gyān ud rōšnīh andar tan bast ud zēndānīg kird, (26) kū dā hān rōšnīh ī ped x^{v}aršēd ud māh ahrāmed, did ped marzišn ud zāyišn ī gyānvarān pādīrānīhād, (27) <ud> vizārišn dagranttar bād.

(28) ud vārān šuhr ī māzandarān būd. (29) ped hān cim ka māzandarān ī ped spihr bast ēstend, (30) kē-šān rōšnīh ōbārd, (31) ud ped nōg ēvēn ud nizūmānīh[8] ud kirrōgīh ī zurvānīg rōšnīh azišān vizārdan rāy, dvāzdahān nax^{v}rēg[9] duxtarān ī zurvān, handēmān māzandarān ī nar vēnēnend, (32) kū dā hān māzandarān az dīdan ī avēšān varan-šān hangēzīhād[10], (33) ud šuhr azišān vizārihād. (34) hān rōšnīh ī andar šuhr ō zamīg rēzīhed[11] ; (35) urvarān ud draxtān ud jōrdāyān azišān rōyīhend[12]. (36) ud rōšnīh ī andar māzandarān ped šuhr

[7] . bastan.

[8] . viąmānī : vivekatā. Jackson : vāhmānīh ? Menasce : nihānmąnī /nihānmānīh/ ‘déguisement’.

[9] . x^{v}arīg. Menasce : x^{v}arīk ‘glorieux’.

[10] . ku aṇdā ą māzaṇdarą əž dīdan i ə̄šą varun ašą hūsažihəṱ : yat yāvat teṣāṃ Mājandaradevānāṃ darśanāt tāsāṃ kāmaḥ samudeti.

[11] . rə̄vihəṱ : avakīryate.

[12] . rōvihəṱ : samudhavaṁti.

vizārīhed. (37) hān ī ped zamīg ped vahān ī urvarān az zamīg vizārīhed.

(38) did abar judgōhrīh ī gyān ud tan, ēn kū: gyān andar tan bast ud zēndānīg <kird>. (39) cōn dādār ud dāštār ī vīsp astumandān tanēgirdān ahrmen ast. (40) im cim rāy nē sazed zāyišn kirdan ud peyvann rāyēnidan. (41) cē hamayyār abāg ahrmen ast ped dāštārīh ī mardōm ud gōspend, ud pādīrān-kirdārīh ī gyān ud rōšnīh andar tanān, nē-z kištan ī urvarān ud jōrdāyān.

(42) did, hambasānīhā, ēn-z gōbend (43) kū: marnzēnīdār ī dām im ahrmen ast. (44) im cim rāy, nē sazed ēc dām ōzadan; (45) cē ahrmen-kunišnīh ast.

(45) did ēn kū: cōn gēhān ahrmen dāšt, frazām pērōz yazd ast, (47) ped vizārdārīh ī gyānān az tanān; (48) ēn gētīg ped abdum višōbīhed, (49) nōg nē ārāyīhed; (50) ud nē baved ristvirāstārīh ud tan ī pasēn.

(51) did ēn kū: hān do bunēštag hamē$_{v}$īgīhā-ēstišn[13] hamvimandīhā ōn būd cōn abdāb ud sāyag; (52) u-šān nē būd ēc vēhmīh[14] ud višādagīh meyān.

(53) nūn gōbem nax^{v}ist abar būdan-nē-šāyistan ī ēc astag tis ī akanārag, (54) bē ēvāz hān ī akanārag x^{v}ānam tuhīgīh[15] ud zamān. (55) hān-z ī ō ast andarōn ped gyāgumandīh ud zamānīgīh astān tisān kanāragumand vēnīhed.

13 . hamāihā əstəšni : samagratayā saṃsthitiḥ.

14 . nišāmī : āsanatvā. JamaspAsana : Perhaps nišīmī , West : nišānīh ‘demarcation’ , Menasce : nišāmīh ‘intervalle ; crépuscule’ , Taillieu : wišāmīh ‘open space ; vacuum’.

15 . θihī : riktatva. Salemann : jāk , Menasce : jā.

(56) ēn-z kū: agar-šān ēkīh ud doīh abar gōbīhed, az hān cōn ēkīh bē ped hamāgīhā-parvastagīh ī tis enyā nē baved; (57) cē ēk ēn kū: nē do. (58) do ēn kū: bun ēk, ud[16] judāgīh ī ēk az did, (59) ī nē do x^{v}ānīhed. (60) ka ēk bē ped hamāg-parvastagīh ī ēkīh <enyā> nē šnāsīhed, (61) ud doīh bē ped judāgīh ī ēk ēk <enyā> nē šāyed būdan. (62) ēk hān ī ped ēkīh ēk, ud ōstīgān ped ēkīh. (63) ēk ud do andar tōhmag ī candīh ud marumandīh. (64) ud candīh ud marumandīh ud hamāgīh ud judāgīh, ī cōn man guft, bē kanāragumandīh <enyā> būdan nē šāyed. (65) ō-z meyānag-dānišnān rōšn.

(66) did ēn kū: akanārag hān baved ī ped dānišn nē parvannīhed. (67) ka ped ēc dānišn parvastan nē šāyed, andar dānišn ī yazd parvastan nē šāyed, acār. (68) ā yazd x^{v}adīh <ī> x^{v}ēš, hān-z ī tār bunēštag, hamāgīhā andar dānišn nē parvannīhed. (69) ka-š x^{v}ēš x^{v}adīh andar x^{v}ēš dānišn nē parvannīhed hān visp-veh ud visp-vēn guftan vaxr. (70) cē visp “hamāgīh” vizāred. (71) ud hamāgīh, hamāk-kustag-parvastagīh rāy, “hamāg” x^{v}ānīhed. (72) hamāk-kustag-parvastag kanāragumandīh acār. (73) hān yazd ka az hamāg-parvastagīh <ī> x^{v}ēš āgāh, kanāragumand sazed hangārdan. (74) agar akanārag, anāgāh. (75) fradum dānišn ī dānāg aziš[17] avizīrišnīg[18] dānistan ī x^{v}ēš x^{v}adīh ud cōnīh ud candīh. (76) kē hān ī x^{v}ēš hamāg x^{v}adīh ud cōnīh ud candīh anāgāh, abar-z abārīg cōnīh ud candīh dānāg būd guftan vaxr.

(77) ēn-z kū: cōn akanārag, aparvastagīh rāy, ped dānišn nē parvannīhed, (78) ā ēn kū-š hamāg x^{v}adīh dānāg ayāb ast ī adān,

16 . i.
17 . vaš.
18 . x^{v}azīrašnī : sūkṣmatara. Salemann : huvižīrišnīk , Menasce : huvizīrišnī ‘discriminatrice’.

hamāg rōšn ayāb ast ī tārīg, hamāg zīndag ayāb ast ī murdag, aziš[19] anāgāh.

(79) did ēn kū: rōšnīh ud gyān ī ēdar ayābum bahr ī az ham zurvānīg ast ayāb nē? (80) ka bahr ī az x^vadīh ī zurvān ast hān ē uzvārānd kū tis kē-š bahr aziš baxtan šāyed bahrumand šāyed būdan. (81) bahrumand bē ka hamēnīdag enyā nē šāyed. (82) ud hamēnīdag bē az hamēnīdār kē-š hamēnīdag hamēnīd enyā nē vizīred. (83) ud ka bahr kirdag[20] kanāragumand, vēnīhed, bun kē-š bahr aziš ham ēvēnag kirdag, kanāragumand būdan agumān. (84) ped hān cē[21] gōbend kū visp bar, bahr, ō bun gugāyīh-dādār. (85) hān ka bahr kirdag kanāragumand, ayābum, hān-z bun bē ka kirdag ud az bahrān hamēnīdag kanāragumand enyā būdan nē šāyed.

(86) ēn-z kū: akanārag nē baxšīhed. (87) cē bahr az hamāgīh baxšīhed; (88) ud hamāgīh abar kanāragumandīh gugāyīh. (89) cōn man azabar nimūd (90) kū astīh cōnīh ī bun bē az humānāgīh ud hangōšīdag ī bar enyā nē ayābum. (91) harv cē ped bar ayābīhed, (92) ped bun hamēvēnag būdan ēvar. (93) hān ka kirdagīh ud kanāragumandīh ped bar ayābišnīg, ham az vizār, bun-z –kē-š bar aziš – ped kanāragumandīh agumān.

(94) did ēn kū: akanārag hān baved ī apardaxt[22]-gyāg, ud avimand[23]-x^vadīh. (95) u-š anī gyāg ud vēhmīh aziš pardaxt nēst. (96) hān ka do bunēštag akanārag ud asāmān-x^vadīh gōbīhed,

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19 . vaš.

20 . kardaa : khaṇda. Menasce : kartak ‘chose faite’.

21 . ci. Salemann : cim.

22 . aparōxt : apariresita. Menasce : aparrēxt ‘en surplus’, Zaehner : ‘uncircumscribed’.

23 . avamạn : amaryāda. West : asāmān.

asmānān, zamīgān, hāmis tanēgirdān, vaxšān[24], gyānān, rōšnān, bayān, amehrspendān, vasān āvarišnān[25] kē-šān judnāmīh az judāgīh ī ēk ēk az ōy ī did, nē sāmānumand šāyed būdan. (97) ēg hamāg andar cē, ud kū, dād? (98) ka do bunēštān hamēšagīhā apardaxt-gyāg būd hend, (99) bē agar-šān x^{v}adīh ī akanārag kanāragumand kird, gyāg ī ēn hamāg astān, būdān ud bavedān kird būdan cōn šāyed? (100) agar gōhr ī hamē-akanārag kanāragumand būdan šāyed, hān ī nēst-iz būdan šāyistan ēvar. (101) hān ī abar avardišnīh ī gōhr gōbend vaxr.

(102) ēn-z ē dāned kū: akanārag hān baved kē-š pardaxt[26] ī aziš fradum nē vaxt[27]. (103) ēc tis jud az ōy, judāg aziš būdan nē šāyed, (104) bē az vimand [ī] akanāragīh nē šnāsīhed. (105) ayāb, sturdagīhā, hān tis ī nē dāned kū cē, hamē gōbed ud stēzed ud soxan abar rāyēned, kōdakān ud kōdakdānišnān pediš viyābānēned, dā rāh ō cāh? (106) agar-š axradīhā[28] ēn-z gōbed kū-š x^{v}adīh akanārag, u-š dnišn-z akanārag, ped akanārag-dānišnīh dāned kū akanārag ast. (107) hān vaxr ud do-bār vaxr. (108) ēk ēn kū dānišn abar tis hān ī ped dānišn ayāftag, ud andar dānišn parvastag. (109) tis-iz bē hān ī andar dānišn hamāgīhā parvastag, ud ayāftag, enyā bavandag nē šnāsīhed. (110) ud tis dānišn, ped hamāg šnāxtan ī tis baved. (111) hamāg šnāxtan ī tis, ped hamāgparvastag<īh> ī tis andar dānišn baved.

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[24] . vaxšašnạn. Menasce : ‘plantes’ , Zaehner : ‘growing things’.

[25] . hambarišni : sahasaṃcāra. Menasce : ōbārišn ‘contenant ; demeure’, Zaehner : ‘complex entity’.

[26] . parəxt. Salemann : pahrēxt.

[27] . See 6.3, 10.66. Salemann (& Menasce) : baxt, Zaehner : bāṭ.

[28] . ax^{v}araidihā : jaḍatayā. West : ‘uncritically’.

Abbreviations

Af	Āfrīn
AfM	Āfrīn ī myazd
AfZ	Āfrīn ī zardušt
Akkad.	Akkadian
Aog.	Aogəmadaēcā
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Armen.	Armenian
Av.	Avesta(n)
AV	Āyādgār ī vazurgmihr
AVN	Ardā-virāz-nāmag
Bact.	Bactrian
Bal.	Baluchi
Bd	Bundahišn
CHP	Cīdag handarz ī pōryōdkēšān
Chin.	Chinese
Copt.	Coptic
Dan.	The Book of Daniel
DD	Dādestān ī dēnīg
Deut.	The Book of Deuteronomy
DGO	Dar ēcand az gōbišn ī ōšnar purxrad
Dk	Dēnkird
Dk, M	Dēnkird (Madan)
Elam.	Elamite
Ex.	The Book of Exodus
Ez.	The Book of Ezekiel
F	Frahang ī ōīm
FP	Frahang ī pahlavīg
GAM	Gōbišn ī ādurbād ī mahrspendān
Gen.	The Book of Genesis
Gr.	Greek
Guj.	Gujarati
HAM	Handarz ī Ādurbād ī mahrspendān
Heb.	Hebrew

HKR	Husrav ī kavādān ud rēdak-ē
Hn	Hāδōxt Nask
HOD	Handarz ī ōšnar ī dānāg
Is.	The Book of Isaiah
J	Jāmāspīg
KAP	Kārnāmag ī ardašēr ī pābagān
Khot.	Khotanese
KKZ	Kirdēr on the Kaʿba of Zardušt
Kurd.	Kurdish
Lat.	Latin
Man.	Manichaean
Mand.	Mandaic
Mhb.	Mahābhārata
MX	Mēnōg xrad
N	Nīrangestān
NM	Nāmagīhā ī Manušcihr
NS	Nam-Stāyišn
Num.	The Book of Numbers
OPers.	Old Persian
Osset.	Ossetic
Parth.	Parthian (Pahlavānīg)
Paz.	Pāzand
PDK	Pus ī dānišnkāmag
Pers.	Persian (Pārsīg), Fārsī
Ps.	The Book of Psalms
Purs.	Pursišnīhā
Q	Qurʾān
RP	the so-called “Rivāyat ī Pahlavi”
RV/ RS	Ṛgveda
Sam.	The Books of Samuel
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Sr	Sīh-rōzag
SS	Sūr soxan (= Sūr āfrīn)
Syr.	Syriac
ŠGV	Šak-ud-gumānīh-vizār
ŠnŠ	Šāyist nē-šāyist

T	Turfan
Tim.	The Epistle(s) of Paul to Timothy
Turk.	Turkish
VAM	Vāzag ē-cand ādurbād ī mahrspendān
Vd	Vidēvdād
Ved.	Vedic
Vr	Visprad
VZ	Vizīdagīhā ī zādsprahm
X^{v}R	X^{v}ēškārīh ī rēdakān
Y	Yasna
Yt	Yašt
Z	Zand (commentary)
ZVY	Zand ī Vahman yasn

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